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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1822

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POLISH LEADERS THANK SOVIET LEADERS FOR ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

LD121521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] To Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrade A. N. Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Council of State and Council of Ministers and on behalf of the Polish people we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people warm thanks for your friendly congratulations and wishes on our national holiday--the 36th anniversary of Poland's resurrection.

The profound changes which have taken place in all spheres of our country's life are a graphic confirmation of the correctness of the socialist path of development chosen by the Polish people 36 years ago. The results of the close fraternal cooperation based on the fraternal friendship and indestructible alliance of the People's Poland with the USSR are also based on the foundation of our achievements.

Continuing the work of building a developed socialist society and implementing the eighth party congress decisions, our country together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states will continue to make its contribution to consolidating the unity and strength of the socialist community in the joint struggle for peace and progress in Europe and throughout the world.

We take this opportunity to convey to you, dear comrades, and to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers and all Soviet people the most heartfelt wishes for further successes in communist building and in the struggle for peace and socialism.

[Signed] E. Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; H. Jablonski, chairman of the Polish Council of State; and E. Babiuch, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

CSO: 1800

WARSAW PACT MANEUVER REVEALS OPERATIONAL TACTICS

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 12 Sep 80 p 3

[OSTSEE-ZEITUNG report of third day of "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver: "Soviet Airborne Troops Deployed; Precise Operation of Transport Pilots and Paratroops"]

[Text] On the third day of battle heavy transport planes with paratroops from the Soviet Union approach the maneuver area. The battle orders read: A sector of terrain deep in the "enemy" operational area is to be occupied to achieve favorable conditions for the attacking main force of the ground troops.

The action is observed from the command posts by Secretary General of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Erich Honecker, Chairman of the National Defense Council Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Horst Sindermann, the speaker of the People's Council and other members and candidates of the Politbureau. Along with the commander of the maneuvers, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense of the GDR, other members of the GDR party and state leadership are present, as well as the defense ministers of the fraternal socialist countries.

Strong gusty wind drives the clouds across the sky. The morning stillness is suddenly broken. Modern fighter bombers attack the "enemy" position in the landing area. Bombs and rockets explode incessantly. Columns of smoke and dust rise everywhere. Far above fighter aircraft are circling. The area is sheltered against "enemy" air attack.

Deep regular throbbing fills the air. Contours of heavy transport planes come into view. The first plane arrives at the landing area. Doors open. Like pearls on a string paratroopers jump from the transport craft. A short free fall, then the parachutes open. A few seconds later a broad band of white domes covers the sky; the parachutes glide uniformly to the ground. Submachineguns rattle. The paratroops touch ground, immediately untie their parachutes and go into action--in short order this advance party occupies the area and secures it for further action.

The next column of four-engine Ilyushin transporters arrives. Suddenly small guidance chutes appear at the rear gates, square packets fall from the planes.

Gigantic cargo parachutes open and stabilize their descent. The parachutes glide slowly to the ground. Immediately above ground braking rockets fire. Tons of equipment--airborne BMD tanks and armored personnel carriers with antitank rockets--land softly.

Further IL-76s follow. The main force of the airborne unit approaches. Hundreds of parachutes are now floating in the air at the same time. On ground the battle units get organized, the drivers and gunners of the BMD unstrap their vehicles from the platforms. The soldiers with the blue berets climb aboard, follow the advance party, and open fire.

A BMD--armed like the battle vehicles of mechanized infantry with cannon, machine gun and guided antitank rockets--drives at great speed to the observation point. The commander of the unit, Lieutenant Colonel Semyonov, reports to the commander the successful conclusion of the airborne landing. He receives orders to occupy favorable positions to defend against "enemy" attacks.

With this airborne landing--50 years ago for the first time a Red Army unit was dropped by parachute at maneuvers--the "Blue Berets" continue the glorious battle traditions of their branch. All airborne units had been designated guard units in the Great Patriotic War. Some 196 of their members were designated Hero of the Soviet Union. Their example inspires today's soldiers to achievements such as those reached on that day during the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80."

The airborne operation from a height of 600 meters under difficult meteorological conditions has been concluded. Soviet soldiers and officers have lined up to receive testimonial from Erich Honecker. The demonstration of outstanding military competence, solid training, courage and bravery of the members of the airborne troops and the transport pilots of the Soviet Army are highly praised. Erich Honecker congratulates the Soviet soldiers. The same praise is voiced by Army General Heinz Hoffman and Marshals Dmitriy Ustinov and Viktor Kulikov.

Soldiers of Three Armies Establish a Bridgehead

The second maneuver terrain in the central sector of the GDR: The commander describes the military situation. A water barrier has to be forced under strong "enemy" fire. Conditions for a rapid advance of the troops, their crossing on a broad front and continuation of the attack on the other bank must be established. The commanders, Lieutenant General of armored troops

Roman Savochkin of the Soviet Army and Major General Pavol Wriik of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CVA] make the decision to establish a bridgehead with massive employment of rockets, artillery, helicopters and fighter planes.

By radio and telephone orders reach the headquarters and command posts of the concerned units of the NVA, the Soviet Army, and the Czechoslovak People's Army seconds later. Massive artillery barrages interrupt the silence. Helicopters and fighters drop without intermission bombs and rockets on the "enemy" bank. The river here is about 300 meters wide. Transport helicopters land airborne troops. The advance party in concentration breaks through the "enemy" positions. Soldiers of the three participating fraternal armies establish a bridgehead in heavy battle. A few meters above the water surface helicopters are hovering. While the rotors cause heavy waves, underwater demolition divers jump in twos with lightning speed.

Equipped with diving suits, flippers and oxygen equipment they reconnoiter the crossing points to the "enemy" bank. In twos the divers remove obstacles and mine fields under heavy fire. Road markers are set. The path is clear.

In "enemy" fire armored personnel carriers dive into the river. Their tracks churn up the water.

In quick drive, with cannon and machineguns firing, the positions on the cleft bank are reached. Waves upon waves follow. Mechanized riflemen of the NVA Robert Uhrig unit and the CVA Jiri Podobradý regiment demonstrate high military competence. Like anti-tank gunner Waldemar Marks they keep their promise to "hit with the first shot." His competence as "Best of the Regiment" is shown also by his Czechoslovak comrade-in-arms, the BMP driver Jiri Denemark.

The last armored personnel carriers of these units are on the "enemy" bank. Now tanks of the Soviet Army cross the stream in an amphibious drive. At the same time ponton engineer regiments begin with bridge construction on the flanks of the crossing sector. Transport vehicles with universal drive approach the water. At a medium water speed at the crossing points the ten-meter long pontoons, weighing tons, are dropped immediately into the water from these special vehicles of the Krazs and Tatra type. Every move of the engineers is a correct one. The drivers of tugboats keep the 60-megapond bridge in balance, and prevent its drifting off. In spite of fire tanks, artillery and heavy vehicles pass the two-track bridges at high speed.

The "enemy" succeeds in destroying bridge elements by artillery and air bombardment. Critical minutes for attacking units. But again the engineers prove themselves, going into action with determination and removing

the damage. As in the further course of maneuvers, this action shows the high level of military knowledge of the soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the National People's Army, and the Soviet Army.

The Soviet soldiers in action here are members of the guard tank regiment that during the Great Patriotic War advanced from the gates of Moscow via Volokolamsk, Kiev and Gdynia to Berlin. The designation of "Hero of the Soviet Union" granted to 10 soldiers and officers, as well as a further 2,500 orders and medals, testify to the battle gallantry of that regiment in the Great Patriotic War.

9240

CSO: 2300

INADEQUATE MEASURES AGAINST DAMAGERS OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zigur Kame, director of control in the Ministry of Finance:
"Strong Control, Based on the Opinion of the Masses"]

[Excerpts] State control, which is exercised over the entire process of the production and dissemination of the social product, is an inseparable part of the organizing and management activity of state and economic organs. Financial control, in particular, control-auditing, is a component and inseparable part of this control.

Without denying the improvements which have been made, the shortcomings which are evident in the administration and protection of socialist property, especially in some sectors of the people's economy, make it necessary that measures to perfect this control be further strengthened. Despite the continual recommendations and the duties assigned in regard to the strengthening of the work of the control-auditing organs, in practice we still run into attitudes of underestimating and disregarding this work. The fact that in some districts, such as Fier, Puke, Tropoje, Tepelene and Librazhd, the necessary number of auditors and controllers has not been incorporated into the structure is an indication of the existence of these wholly unallowable attitudes. On the other hand, unsuitable individuals, without the necessary qualifications, have been given these positions in Elbasan, Lezhe, Diber and Kukes districts. And what is even worse, the same situation exists in some ministries.

Most of the enterprises and institutions and all the agricultural cooperatives are audited by the auditing and control organs of the executive committees. With the exception of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Construction, the ministries have very few units under direct financial control. However, this does not remove the responsibility of the ministries for the control of their economic and financial activity and of the enterprises directly under their jurisdiction. However, they do not give the necessary assistance to the control and auditing organs of the districts and do not properly

execute investigations on the implementation of laws. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry have begun to do a better job in this area but the Ministry of the Communal Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture and others are not doing their job properly.

Our laws and regulations stipulate definite measures of punishment and assign material responsibility to all those who cause damage to socialist property. But sentimental and liberal attitudes, in many cases, have weakened their full activity and full compensation is not made for damage caused. For example, measures against those who cause shortfalls, damage and violations of financial discipline are weak in Tirana, Diber, Mirdite and other districts and in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Agriculture. In particular, the matter of the compensation for damages caused to socialist property, is not properly treated. For example, in Skrapar, Lushnje and Kruje districts, only 22 percent of the damage is compensated for. This shows that the organs and individuals charged with issuing compensation orders in the enterprises, executive committees and ministries have had liberal attitudes toward damagers of socialist property and violators of financial discipline. The control and auditing organs are also responsible for this situation since they have not done their duty as they should to strengthen their work and to be intolerant toward such attitudes.

The reduction of the time between inspections is important in preventing damage to socialist property. The intervals between inspections are unjustifiably long and this has a bad effect on the process of preventing shortfalls and remedying them. Also, there are overall, global inspections, which are not properly prepared and organized; they have no effect and produce no results. This is illustrated by the fact that in some enterprises and agricultural cooperatives the violations continue even though inspections are made. There are no re-inspections to see if tasks have been implemented.

Above all, the results in the protection, administration and strengthening of property will improve to the extent that the opinion of the masses of workers is solicited and brought to bear against every negative manifestation, involving the revolutionary opinion and activity of the public in inspection activity.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

POWERS OF VILLAGE, CITY DISTRICT, CITY PEOPLES COUNCILS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albania No 5, Jul 80 pp 97-124

[Albanian People's Assembly Presidium Decision No 255 of 30 June 1980:
"On Determining the Tasks of the People's Councils of the Villages,
United Villages, City Quarters and Cities and of the Quarters of
Tirana City"; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution and of Article 12
of the Law "On the People's Councils," the Presidium of the People's
Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

1. To approve the tasks of the people's councils of the villages,
united villages, city quarters and cities and of the quarters of Tirana
City.
2. In accordance with these tasks, the Council of Ministers, the
ministries, the other central institutions and the executive committees
of the district people's councils must re-examine the legal acts that
they have enacted and make relevant changes.
3. The ministries, other central institutions and executive committees
of the district people's councils must adopt appropriate organizational
measures for the complete implementation of these tasks.

This decision comes into force immediately.

Tirana, 30 June 1980

Decision No: 255

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist
Republic of Albania:

Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary

Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman

Tasks of the People's Councils of the Villages, United Villages, City Quarters and Cities and of the Quarters of Tirana City

The people's councils of the villages, united villages, city quarters and cities and of the quarters of Tirana City--in addition to the general tasks stipulated in the Law "On the People's Councils"--also implement these concrete tasks in the relevant territorial administrative units.

In the execution of these tasks, the people's councils are guided by the fundamental principles sanctioned by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and by the Law "On the People's Councils."

Tasks of the Village People's Council

1. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The Village people's council organizes the work for the knowledge and the execution of the laws by the working people.

2. Takes care of maintaining order and peace, of preventing penal acts and other violation of the laws and calls to account the representative of the police organ.

3. Calls to account the brigade leader or the person in charge of the sector of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and of the institutions that conduct activities in its village for the fulfillment of the plan tasks and for all problems under its jurisdiction.

4. Cooperates with the social organizations in solving state and social problems.

5. Monitors the implementation of the statute of the agricultural cooperatives and of the Labor Code in the agricultural enterprises and of the other legal acts that have emerged from their execution.

6. Is concerned about the work of the village people's court and people's prosecutor and calls the latter to account.

6. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

8. Regularly organizes the presentation of reports by the workers of trade, communal services and employees to the people.

9. And organizes audiences for the population; it examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the members of the agricultural cooperative and of the workers of the agricultural enterprise within its jurisdiction, against the illegal activities of the brigade leader or of the person in charge of the

sector. The decision of the village people's council is binding for the brigade leader, the person in charge of a sector and the other persons with responsibility.

II. /In the agricultural field:/

1. The village people's council examines and approves the draft production plan and the draft financial plan of the work brigade or the sector and controls its implementation.

2. Monitors the implementation of the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and of the Council of Ministers of 29 April 1967 and of other decisions.

3. Assists and checks the complete participation in work of the members of the cooperative and of the agricultural enterprise workers.

4. Exerts control over the protection of the agricultural lands and over the systemization, utilization and improvement of its productive capacity, as well as over the protection of agriculture.

5. Monitors the execution of the legal provisions on the protection and administration of forests, grasslands, hunting, fishing areas and medicinal plants.

6. Monitors the implementation of the tasks and regulations in regard to the struggle against plant diseases and contagious diseases in domestic animals.

7. Monitors the organization and utilization of water for irrigating the land of the cooperative members.

8. And calls the brigade leader of the livestock sector to account in regard to the conditions and development of the livestock sector and takes care of animals on the land of cooperative members.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The village people's council takes measures to assure the military mobilization of the people and of materials and participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, and of the exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, and monitors the military training of the citizens.

2. Implements the regulations on the drafting of the citizens.

3. Executes the tasks entrusted for the state civil preparedness for wartime, as well as for the situation and preparedness of civil defense (MCR) services and formations.

4. Monitors the work for the building of air-raid shelters for the village needs and adopts measures for their preservation and maintenance.

It monitors the fortification works executed by the inhabitants of the area.

5. And directs the work for the organization of the operational watch and communications service. It monitors the system of warning the population, the system of observation and so forth. It organizes the work for the knowledge of civil defense signals by the population and the use of these signals. It monitors the maintenance of warehouses of the volunteer forces.

IV. /In the planning and finance field:/

1. The village people's council presents, to the united village people's council, the needs for relevant funds for education, culture, health, trade and communal works and requests credits for improving housing conditions.

2. Monitors the fulfillment of the budget plan sent by the united village people's council for the village.

3. Exerts its control over and analyzes the fulfillment of economic and financial tasks of work brigades or of sectors in the village.

4. Monitors, analyzes and adopts measures on the preservation and administration of socialist property.

5. Examines requests for economic aid presented by members of the agricultural cooperative who are unable to work and who have no income and sends them to the united village people's council for approval, and monitors the implementation of the decision.

6. And monitors and takes measures against the nonauthorized practice of professions and against private business and prosecutes the offenders.

V. /In the field of construction:/

1. The village people's council gives its opinion about the village plan and executes it.

2. Takes measures to prevent illegal construction. It decides on the suspension of projects built in disharmony with the village plan and without building authorization, makes a report on this action and sends it to the village court and, immediately, informs the united village people's council.

3. In accordance with the village plan, it determines the place and the order of construction projects and of repairs of economic, social and cultural facilities and of privately-owned houses.

5. It gives its opinion to the united village people's council on the requests made for new construction.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The village people's council organizes, when necessary, the work for the opening of roads and monitors their maintenance.

2. And organizes, with its own forces, the work for the reopening of the roads obstructed by snow and for their repair when damages have occurred as a result of a natural disaster, and for the re-establishment of communications.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The village people's council monitors the implementation of the plan for the circulation and collection of goods and takes care of the regular supplying of the people with consumer goods and plans the distribution of building materials. It also attends to the fulfillment of the plan for purchases and sales and the plan for agricultural products for exports.

2. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions by the state trade units and the agricultural cooperatives for good service and for the exact application of prices set by the responsible organs and of the rules for weight and measurements, for cleanliness and so forth.

VIII. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The village people's council exerts control over the administration and maintenance of the state buildings in the village.

2. Monitors the work of all units of the communal services in the village.

3. Is concerned about the beautification of the village and of cultural and social objects with gardens and so forth by means of voluntary work.

4. Takes care of the maintenance of the electric and telephone systems.

5. Takes measures to supply the population with hygienically pure drinking water and monitors the protection of the purity of water sources and the maintenance of fountains, wells and reservoirs of drinking water.

6. And determines the location of cemeteries and takes care of their maintenance.

IX. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The village people's council monitors and takes measures for assuring compulsory school attendance in the 8-year schools and for achieving the proper number of students in the middle schools with or without interruption of work.

2. Monitors the work done by schools for the comprehensive education of students and takes measures to satisfy the needs of school, cultural house, kindergarten, the museum and so forth.

3. It activates the village intelligentsia on the various problems, enlists its opinion and entrusts it with the study of these problems.

4. Directs and monitors the cultural center and is concerned with establishing cultural and artistic groups and other activities developed for the education of the masses.

5. Manages the physical-educational activity of the village (setting up sports teams and their activities).

6. Manages and monitors the work carried out in kindergartens and approves the admission of children in kindergartens and is concerned about increasing their participation in kindergartens.

7. Monitors and takes measures for the preservation and maintenance of monuments and of commemorative plaques at sites where events of the struggle for freedom and independence have taken place, especially, events of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and of the building of socialism of the monuments of art and culture and of other works that have a historic value.

8. Manages the activity of the museum and is concerned about its continual enrichment.

9. Monitors the building of schools and of cultural and sports projects and their repair.

10. Decides on and grants the right to study to students who are sent to lower technical and vocational schools and to middle schools and gives its opinion on granting scholarships.

11. Approves and monitors the educational plan campaign for the preparation of the new school year.

12. And takes care of the opening of vacation centers for children during the summer.

X. /In the field of health:/

1. The village people's council takes care of the people's health by means of compulsory vaccination and the struggle against contagious diseases, adopts measures for the cleaning of streets and squares and monitors the painting of the various dwellings and buildings and the work for the hygiene of the village (cleaning of conduits and the purification of the drinking water with chlorine).

2. Monitors the work of the doctor, the midwife and all other workers of the health departments.

3. Manages and supervises activities in kindergartens and approves the admission of children to them.

4. Directs the work of the demographic commission and looks after the protection of the health of mother and child.

5. And creates the guardianship commission; and sees to the placement of orphans, the aged and the mentally handicapped in appropriate institutions.

XI. /The tasks in various fields:/

1. The village people's council monitors the direct participation of cadres in production.

2. Designates the workers that are required to work in the economic enterprises, in accordance with the plan approved by the united village people's council.

3. Allows the distillation of raki (brandy) in the areas authorized by the executive committee of the district people's council.

4. On the basis of the plan, it approves the list of workers who are sent to training courses.

5. Monitors the implementation of state discipline by employees and other workers. It grants leave, according to established regulations, to school directors, health workers and salespersons. All these people must notify the people's council when they leave for reason of work.

6. Proposes the granting of moral incentives.

7. Regulates the integration in the work force of the new forces in agricultural enterprises, as well as the persons with limited capabilities and the disabled.

8. Takes care of the execution of the legal provisions on vital statistics.

9. Manages and monitors the work of bakeries and the operation of grinding mills.

10. Appoints or grants admission papers for work to service workers in the health, educational and cultural institutions, to those of the communal services and to the salespersons in the trade system, in accordance with established criteria and, when it is necessary, it takes or demands the adoption of disciplinary measures on the basis of the provisions in force.

Appoints and dismisses from work the person in charge of the cultural center.

Appoints and removes from work the workers of the trade units and of the services administered by the agricultural cooperatives.

11. Encourages the activities of the people's prospectors for useful mineral ores, of the collectors of folklore, of the workers of the people's health sector and of those engaged in archeological explorations and so forth.

12. And establishes and checks the schedule for services in all state premises and in the agricultural cooperatives.

/Footnote:/

The village people's council, which is directly connected with the district, also executes the tasks of the united village people's council.

Tasks of the United Village People's Council

1. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The united village people's council manages and monitors the village people's councils in all their activities and organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of counsellors.

2. Calls to account the directors of the agricultural cooperative, the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors and institutions that carry out activities in its area in regard to the fulfillment of the plan and other problems under its jurisdiction.

3. Cooperates with social organizations in solving state and social problems.

4. Supervises the implementation of the Statute of the Agricultural Cooperatives and of the Labor Code in the enterprises operating in its territory, as well as the other acts that have emerged from their implementation.

5. Organizes the work of making the laws known to the working people and preventing penal acts and other violations of the laws, and takes care of keeping order and peace; and calls to account the representative of the police organ in regard to its activities, instructs him and monitors his activity.

6. Organizes audiences for the people, and examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the

of the agricultural cooperative, of the workers of the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors that are under its jurisdiction, against the illegal activities committed by the leadership of the agricultural cooperative or the administration of the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors. The decision of the people's council is binding for all these organs.

7. And encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

II. /In the field of agriculture:/

1. Monitors the implementation of the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and of the Council of Ministers of 29 April 1967 and of other decisions.

2. Controls and takes measures for the conclusion and execution of contracts, for the realization of centralized net revenues, and for the use of credits in accordance with the plan, and with effectiveness, and for their repayment on schedule.

3. Assists and monitors the full participation in work of cooperative members and agricultural enterprise workers.

4. Exerts control over, and seeks to take measures for, the protection of the land, the utilization and improvement of the productive capacity of the land and the protection of agriculture.

5. Monitors the implementation of the legal provisions for the preservation and administration of forests, grasslands and hunting, and fishing areas, of fruit tree growing and of medicinal plants.

6. Calls to account the leadership of the agricultural cooperative in regard to the situation and development of livestock and takes care of domestic animals in the yards of cooperative members.

7. And monitors the implementation of the tasks and regulations for the struggle against contagious diseases in domestic animals and against plant pests.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The united village people's council monitors and controls the assurance of the military mobilization of the people and materials and the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, of exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, and takes care of the military training of the citizens.

2. Takes measures for the fulfillment of its entrusted tasks on schedule, for the state civil preparedness for war and for the situation and readiness of the services and of the civil defense formations (MRC).

3. In cooperation with the responsible commands, it helps organize, operate and supply the necessary material base for the military training centers.

4. Monitors and follows up the implementation of the work plans for civil defense and the administration and maintenance of the air-raid shelters of the population.

5. Organizes the operational watch service and taken measures for the permanent readiness of the system of communications, of informing and signaling air-alerts and of the stations for air detection and observation.

6. And takes measures to keep in good conditions the fortification works of the army, of the FVVP [?Voluntary Patriotic Work Forces] and of the MCR situated in its territory.

IV. /In the field of planning and finance: /

1. The united village people's council examines and approves the draft plan of production and finance of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and of the health, educational, cultural, trade, communications and post and telecommunications sectors.

It monitors and follows up the execution of the plan.

2. It drafts and approves its budget.

a) In the revenues section, the following are included: the revenues from the wealth which the people's council has in its administration; the revenues from the productive work of students; the revenues from the school kindergartens; the revenues from the collection of fines imposed by the responsible organs; the part of the budget of the district people's council for the sectors of education, culture and health and so forth, without investments; the revenues from the payments for the children of kindergartens and creches; the revenues from the production bases of middle schools; the part that is designated by the general meeting of the cooperative, in accordance with its proposal, on the basis of the statute, for the maintenance of cultural centers, kindergartens and creches that are established by the cooperative itself for the maintenance of the museums, the communal buildings and for the aid fund.

b) In the section of expenditures, the following are included: the funds for communal constructions from the revenues of the united village people's council itself, for the maintenance, equipment and salaries of the personnel; the other expenditures for kindergartens, schools, the cultural house, village museums, creches, hospitals, maternity homes, dispensaries, and consulting centers; the expenditures for the

apparatus of the united village people's council and for the village people's councils under its jurisdiction; the funds for the maintenance, equipment, salaries and other expenditures for cultural projects, creches, and kindergartens; and the aid fund which is financed by the agricultural cooperative.

3. It examines and approves the requests for the funds of the village people's councils and for credits for the improvement of living conditions.

4. Analyzes, controls and monitors the execution of the budget; discovers new sources of revenues and continually takes measures for strengthening the system of savings.

5. Monitors and analyzes the economic and financial activity of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and so forth, and establishes the tasks for the future.

6. Exerts control over, analyzes and takes measures for the preservation and administration of socialist property; and analyzes the activity of the control-review commission of the agricultural cooperative.

7. Approves the requests for economic aid by the members of the agricultural cooperative who are incapacitated for work, who have no income and who are without aid.

8. And collects the fines levied by the responsible organs, fines which belong to its budget.

V. /In the field of construction:/

1. The united village people's council gives permission for new constructions within the building limit of villages and permission for enlargement and repairs, in accordance with the legal provisions.

2. Monitors the execution of the villages plans and takes measures for averting the building of illegal constructions.

3. Determines the order of construction for each village.

4. Informs the executive committee of the district people's council about the constructions executed in contradiction with the village plans and about the buildings which are in danger of falling, and requests their demolition.

5. In cooperation with the leadership of the agricultural cooperative and with the assistance of the relevant sections of the executive committee of the district people's council, it prepares the design tasks for the drafting of the village plan and for the partial studies of the village urbanization.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The united village people's council monitors the work for the protection and maintenance of village roads and for the cleaning of lateral canals and of all the roads located in its zone.
2. Approves the building and widening of roads that link the villages between them or that connect with national roads.
3. Aids and monitors the organization of labor forces for the re-opening of roads obstructed by snow, for their repair when damaged as a result of natural disasters and for reestablishing communications.
4. Takes care of the distribution of the press and correspondence in villages.
5. And takes care of the development of domestic transportation in villages by the means of carts and oxcarts and so forth.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The united village people's council supervises the fulfillment of the plan for the circulation of goods and the purchasing and selling of agricultural products for domestic trade and for exports.
2. Takes care of supplying the people with consumer goods and approves the distribution of building materials and other materials for each village.
3. Makes studies on the trade system and makes proposals to the executive committee of the district people's council about its extension.
4. And monitors the measures for the timely supplying of the zones cut off during the winter period with clothing and footwear.

VIII. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The united village people's council decides on the expansion of the system of communal services and monitors the execution of the tasks in this field.
2. Administers and keeps in good conditions the watermains entrusted to it for supplying drinking water.

Directs the construction of the system of watermains and of roads of the village in accordance with the village plan.

3. Looks after the maintenance of the electric power and telephone system and, in cooperation with the communal enterprise and the post and telecommunications sector, assigns electricians and wire-watchers in accordance with the needs of villages.

4. Monitors the administration and maintenance of the state-owned buildings located in the village.

5. And decides the housing of workers in the state-owned houses and in the houses built by the agricultural cooperatives established in the village and implements the regulations of rents for dwellings.

IX. /In the field of education and culture: /

1. The united village people's council checks and monitors the work done by the educational institutions for the comprehensive education of students, for the development of education and for compulsory school attendance.

2. Manages the cultural, artistic and physical-educational activities in the united village.

3. Takes care of the dissemination and propaganda of books and film.

4. Monitors the campaign for the preparation of the new school year and takes measures for its complete implementation.

5. Assigns to the village people's councils those persons who have the right to study and to have scholarships for all the categories of lower and middle schools, and gives its opinion on the right to study and on scholarships in higher schools.

6. Approves the students who will pursue studies in boarding schools of the zone.

7. Administers the schools, cultural houses, museums and kindergartens for children.

8. Monitors and checks on the building of schools and of cultural and physical-educational projects and their expansion and restoration.

9. Takes care of the opening of vacation centers for children during the summer.

10. And decides upon the dismissal of students from compulsory school for the cases stipulated in the special provisions of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

X. /In the field of health: /

1. The united village people's council manages and monitors the activity of health institutions and the work of health workers.

2. Monitors the execution of preventive and curative measures for the protection of the people's health.

It takes care of the health of mother and child.

3. Pursues and controls the activity of the health institutions for the health education of the people.

4. Takes care of the establishment of health institutions in villages and of their administration.

5. Takes care of the functioning of demographical commissions of the groups for the protection of environment from pollution and for epidemiological detection and observation.

6. And takes care of, monitors and stimulates studies on the introduction of folk medicine in the practice of public health care, in the spirit of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party.

XI. /In various fields:/

1. The united village people's council directs the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

2. Monitors the activity of the post and telecommunications service.

3. Monitors the execution of the work plan in production by workers.

4. Takes care of the placement in work of disabled persons.

5. Assigns, to the village people's councils, the workers required to work in the economic enterprises and those who will attend training courses.

6. Examines the requests of the citizens who move from one village to another in search of work, housing lots, housing and so forth and makes its decisions on the basis of the general interest.

7. Examines and approves the requests of the citizens from the city who establish themselves in the village, requests for work and for housing and so forth.

8. Grants permissions for the transformation of privately-owned houses.

9. Is concerned about the exact execution of regulations of weights and measures and monitors the adoption of measures by the agricultural cooperatives and enterprises for their expansion in all the links of the movement of products.

10. And monitors the implementation of regulations by trade units and communal services units in regard to good service, prices of goods, their cleanliness and for the implementation of schedules and so forth.

/Footnote:/

The tasks of the united village people's council are also the tasks of its executive committee, where there is one, with the exception of those carried out by the people's council itself.

Tasks of the City Quarter People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The city quarter people's council organizes the work for the knowledge, propaganda and implementation of the laws by workers.
2. Takes measures for maintaining order and peace and for averting penal acts and other violations of the laws and calls to account the representative of the police organ.
3. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors and the workers of the services of the zone administered by the people's council in regard to the problems under its jurisdiction.
4. Cooperates with social organizations in solving state and social problems.
5. Takes care of the functioning of the quarter's court and of the work of the prosecutor and calls the latter to account.
6. Organizes audiences with the people; examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, requests and complaints of the citizens under its jurisdiction and takes measures when their rights are violated.
7. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.
8. And regularly organizes meetings where the workers in trade and services and employees report to the people on their activities.

II. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. Every year, the city quarter people's council forecasts its expenditures for the needs of communal, health and educational work and so forth and sends them to the city people's council for approval.
2. Monitors the execution of the budget sent by the city people's council.
3. And monitors, analyzes and adopts measures for the protection of socialist property.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The city quarter people's council adopts measures for ensuring the military mobilization of the people and of materials and for the participation of the citizens in executing class military training and the training to test preparedness and for combat alerts and monitors the military training of the citizens.
2. Enforces regulations on the drafting of citizens.
3. Implements the tasks entrusted to it in state civil preparedness - in war, as well as for the situation and readiness of the services and of formations of civil defense (MCR).
4. Facilitates the work for the construction of air-raid shelters for the needs of the city quarter and takes measures for their preservation and equipping.
5. Directs the work for organizing the operational watch and communications service. Monitors the system of warning the population and the system of observation and so forth, organizes the work for the knowledge of civil defense signals by the population and for training with these signals. Also checks on the keeping of warehouses of the volunteer forces.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy, construction and trades:/

1. The city quarter people's council decides on the housing of the citizens in dwellings and on the change of dwellings.
2. Decides the granting of bank credits to the citizens for the repairs of their houses.
3. Takes care of the maintenance of dwellings by tenants and directs the housing committee.
4. Facilitates the work for the construction and maintenance of roads, waterways, canals and wells and so forth, and takes measures for the economical use of drinking water and electricity.
5. Takes measures for the cleaning of streets and squares, for the maintenance of parks and gardens and for the beautification of the empty spaces between the dwelling blocks by means of voluntary labor.
6. Monitors the work of laundries, public baths and so forth.
7. Takes measures for averting illegal constructions; decides to stop the constructions which are being executed in contradiction with the plan and without building permits and, in this case, makes a report and sends it to the city quarter court and, immediately, informs the city people's council.

8. Gives its opinion on the expansion of the network of trade and communal services.

9. And monitors the execution of regulations by trade units and communal services units for good service, implementation of the schedule for regularly supplying shops with industrial and agricultural goods, for the strict application of prices, for cleanliness and for high quality work and so forth.

VI. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The city quarter people's council is concerned about proper operation of schools, the progress and behavior of students and so forth.

2. Monitors and takes measures to prepare for the beginning of the new school year and for the implementation of compulsory school attendance.

3. Takes care of school maintenance and repairs and equips schools with necessary materials.

4. Takes care of and organizes the work for the extracurricular education of children.

5. Looks after the preservation and maintenance of cultural monuments, engraved stones and commemorative plaques, and sites where remarkable events of the past have taken place, especially of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and of the period of the building of socialism and of other works.

6. On the basis of the plan sent by the city people's council, decides on the rights to study in the lower and middle schools and gives its opinion on the rights to study in the higher schools and on granting scholarships.

7. And monitors the activity of kindergartens and approves the admission of children to kindergartens.

VII. /In the field of health:/

1. The city quarter people's council monitors the activity of health institutions.

2. Monitors the execution of the measures for hygiene and cleanliness in residential quarters and in the various public places and for the protection of environment from pollution.

3. Supervises activities in creches and approves the admission of children to them in accordance with the plan set by the city people's council.

4. Creates the *asaytdanish* commissions. Takes care of placing orphans, old persons and the retarded in appropriate institutions.

5. Cares to the compulsory vaccination of the population.

6. Guides the demographic commission and monitors and organizes the work and the measures for the protection of the health of mother and child.

7. And monitors the work for the health education of the population and the work of the health workers in the problems of hygiene and health.

VIII. /In various fields:/

1. The city quarter people's council gives work to the citizens in accordance with the plan approved by the city people's council.

2. Appoints or gives work papers to the workers of the trade service, of kindergartens and creches, of the 8-year schools and of the system of communal services. In regard to the sales persons in the trade network, in accordance with established criteria and when it is necessary, it takes or requires the adoption of disciplinary measures on the basis of the provisions in force.

3. Takes proposals for granting moral incentives.

4. Monitors and takes measures against the exercising of unauthorized profits in private business and prosecutes the offenders.

5. Takes care of the execution of legal provisions and vital state acts.

6. And monitors the execution of regulations concerning the maintenance and exact use of the means of weights and measures.

Tasks of the City People's Council

1. /In the political and organizational field:/

1. The city people's council manages and monitors the quarter people's councils in all their activities and organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of councillors.

2. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors in regard to the fulfillment of the plan and other problems in its jurisdiction.

3. Cooperates with the mass organization in solving state and social problems.

4. Takes care of the work of the city people's court and calls it to account.
5. Organizes the work to make workers familiar with the laws in order to prevent criminal acts and other violations of the laws. Keeps order and peace and calls the police department to account and guides and monitors it.
6. Organizes audiences for the people. Examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the citizens under its jurisdiction and takes measures when their rights are violated.
7. And encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

II. /In the field of planning and finance: /

1. The city people's council approves the economic and financial draft plans for the health, education, culture, trade, communal services and post and telecommunications sectors.

2. Drafts and approves the budget.

The revenues section includes payments for children in kindergartens and creches and fines set by the responsible organs.

The expenditures section includes: funds for operational expenditures for the communal sector, for the building of dwellings and for the maintenance of kindergartens, creches and schools; for maintaining the administrative apparatus of the people's council or of the executive committee of the city people's council; and for granting economic aid to people incapacitated for work, who have no income and have no assistance.

Monitors, controls and analyzes the implementation of the budget, discovers new resources of revenues and continually takes measures to strengthen the system of savings.

3. Exercises control over, and analyzes, the economic and financial activities of the institutions, sectors and other economic units under its jurisdiction and assigns them tasks for the future.
4. Exercises control over, analyzes and takes measures for the protection of socialist property.
5. Collects the fines set by the responsible organs, the fines that belong to its budget.
6. Determines the number of workers to be assigned to work by the people's councils of the quarters.

7. Studies the question of the opening of new work fronts, especially for women, and gives its opinion about it.

8. Monitors the placement in jobs of all the forces fit for work.

9. Takes care particularly of finding work for the disabled, for those persons with limited capacities and for mothers with many children and so forth.

10. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions dealing with job-hiring and placement.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The city people's council monitors and controls the assurance of the military mobilization of the people and materials and the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills and of exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, as well as the military training of the citizens.

2. Takes measures for fulfilling, on schedule, the tasks entrusted for state civil preparedness for war and for the situation and readiness of services and of civil defense formations (MCR).

3. In cooperation with the relevant commands, it helps in the activities of organizing, activating the relevant training centers and supplying them with the necessary material base.

4. Monitors and controls the execution of the plans for civil defense projects and the administration and maintenance of air-raid shelters for the population.

5. Takes measures for providing the FVVP with depots and guards for the depots and for supplying their commands with facilities for offices and with telephone communications.

6. Organizes the operational watch service and takes measures for keeping in permanent readiness the system of communications, the means of warning and of signaling air-raid alerts and the detection and observation points.

7. And takes measures for keeping in good conditions the fortification works of the army, of the FVVP and of the MCR.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The city people's council decides on the funds for investments and constructions granted for communal projects in the city and monitors their implementation.

2. Takes care of the proper administration of the government buildings through the communal enterprise and the people's councils of the quarters.
3. Approves the distribution of bank credits funds for repairs of private houses in accordance with the needs of the quarters.
4. Studies and approves, on the basis of the city plan, the expansion of dwellings, of the drinking water system, of electric and telegraph cables, of waste water canals, of the beautification and green areas of the city and the maintenance of cemeteries.
5. Monitors the implementation of the plan for supplying the population with fuel.
6. Monitors the distribution and use of drinking water.
7. Plans and distributes the number of dwellings for each residential quarter, with the exception of those designated for transferred workers and for expropriation.
8. Approves the plans for the maintenance of the state-owned dwellings.
9. Requests, from the responsible organs, reports on dwellings that are in danger of falling.
10. And decides on the compulsion of the citizens who occupy dwellings in contradiction with regulations.

V. /In the field of construction:/

The city people's council attends to the implementation of the city plan and grants permission for new constructions of every kind, for enlargements and repairs, within the city limits of constructions.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The city people's council monitors and controls the work for the protection and maintenance of city streets and for the preservation of street signs.
2. And monitors the regulations for the circulation of the means of transportation and of the people in the city, the regulations governing of the movement of workers and the stopping of buses and the activity of the agencies for the urban transportation of the population.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The city people's council looks after the regular supplying of trade units with industrial and agricultural goods.
2. Monitors and requests reports on the execution of the plan for the circulation of goods.
3. And manages the administration of markets.

VII. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The city people's council controls and adopts measures for the good progress of the teaching and educational work in kindergartens, children's homes, 8-year schools and in the various courses.
2. Takes measures for implementing compulsory school attendance and for fulfilling the educational plan for middle and pre-school education.
3. Monitors the work and takes measures to get ready for the beginning of the new school year.
4. Monitors progress and takes measures for the implementation of the tasks by teachers.
5. Is concerned about the invigoration of cultural, artistic and physical-educational life.
6. Manages kindergartens for children.
7. Decides on the dispensing of pupils from the school obligation, in accordance with the relevant order of the Ministry of Education and Culture.
8. Takes measures for and monitors the organization of summer vacations for children and approves the opening of summer areas and camps.
9. And assigns, to the quarters, the students who have the right to study and to scholarships in all the categories of lower and middle schools and gives its opinion on the rights to study and on scholarships for higher schools.

IX. /In the field of health:/

1. The city people's council monitors the activity of health institutions; monitors the implementation of preventive and curative measures, and takes care of the health of mother and child.

2. Monitors the implementation of the hygiene and health regulations in the enterprises, institutions and city quarters.
3. Monitors and controls the work of the health institutions for the medical education of the people.
4. Monitors the execution of the tasks by the medical personnel.
5. Administers nurseries for children.
6. And takes care of the work of the demographical commissions, of the environmental protection group and of the epidemiological detection and observation activity.

X. /In the various fields:/

1. The city people's council manages the Bureau of Vital Statistics.
2. Grants to the citizens permission to live in the city, implementing the regulations set by the Council of Ministers, and has the obligation to expel from the city the citizens who reside in contradiction with the regulations in force.
3. Takes measures for expanding the system of trade, health, communal services and post and telecommunications services.
4. Takes care of the exact application of established rules of weights and measures.
5. Grants permissions for transformations of privately-owned houses.
6. Sets the work schedule for trade units and communal services in agreement with the responsible enterprises.
7. Sets the time for turning on the lights in the city.
8. And monitors the implementation of regulations by trade units and communal services units, for the best service possible for the execution of the schedule, for the regular supply of shops with industrial and agricultural goods, for the application of regulations concerning weights and measures and prices, for cleanliness and for the quality of work and so forth and takes appropriate measures for all this.

/Footnote:/

--The city people's council, which has villages in its jurisdiction, also executes the tasks of the united village people's council.

--In cities where there are no quarters, the city people's council also executes the tasks of the people's council of the quarter.

--The tasks of the city people's council also are the tasks of its executive committee, where there is one, with the exception of those that the people's council implements by itself.

Tasks of the Tirana City Quarter People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council organizes the work of familiarizing workers with the laws in order to prevent penal acts and other violations of the laws. It sees to the keeping of order and peace and calls to account the police department and guides and monitors its activities.
2. Cooperates with the mass organizations in solving state and social problems.
3. It is interested in the functioning of the quarter people's courts and calls them to account and shows concern for the work of the people's prosecutors.
4. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors in regard to plan fulfillment and other problems under its jurisdiction.
5. Organizes audiences with the people; examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests made by the citizens and takes measures when their rights are violated.
6. Regularly organizes reports sessions to the people by trade and by services workers and by employees and so forth.
7. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.
8. And organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of counselors.

II. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council approves the draft economic and financial plan for the sectors of health, education and culture, for the trade branches and the operating expenditures of the communal services.
2. Drafts and approves the budget.

The section on revenues includes the payments for children in kindergartens and creches and the fines set by the responsible organs.

The section on expenditures includes: the operating expenses funds for the sector of communal services, for cleanliness and for the maintenance of the streets and for green areas; the funds for running institutions dependent upon and administered by the quarters and funds running the administrative apparatus of the executive committee of the people's council of the quarter; and for granting economic aid to people unable to work, who have no income and who have no assistance.

3. Monitors, controls and analyzes the budget implementation; discovers new resources of revenues and continually takes measures for strengthening the system of savings.

4. Exerts control over and analyzes the economic and financial activity of institutions, sectors and other economic units under its jurisdiction and sets their tasks for the future.

5. Exercises its control over, analyzes and takes measures for the protection of socialist property.

6. Collects the fines set by the responsible organs, fines which belong to its budget.

7. Decides on the placement of the forces available for work, in accordance with the plan approved by the executive committee of the district people's council.

8. Examines and gives its opinion on the opening of new work fronts, especially for women.

9. Monitors the placement in work of all forces fit for work and issues admission papers for work.

10. It is particularly concerned with giving employment to disabled persons, to those with limited capacities and to mothers with several children and so forth.

11. Monitors and controls the satisfying of the needs of enterprises for manpower.

12. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions concerning appointment and placement of workers in work.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council takes measures for assuring the military mobilization of the people and of materials and for the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, of exercises to test preparedness and of combat alerts, and takes care of the combat readiness of the citizens.

2. Executes the regulations for drafting the citizens.
3. Takes measures for fulfilling, on schedule, the tasks that have been entrusted to it for the state civil preparedness for war, as well as for the situation and readiness of the services and formations of the civil defense (MCR).
4. In cooperation with the responsible commands, it helps organize, operate and supply the military training centers with the necessary material base.
5. Monitors and controls the execution of the plan for civil defense projects and the administration and maintenance of air-raid shelters for the population.
6. Takes measures for supplying the FVVP warehouses with guards.
7. Organizes the operational watch service and takes measures for keeping in permanent readiness the systems of communications, of warning, of signaling air alerts and of detection and observation points.
8. And takes measures for keeping in good conditions the fortified works of the army, of the FVVP and of the MCR.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy: /

1. The Tiranan City quarter people's council takes care of the proper administration of state buildings through the communal enterprise sector.
2. Decides on granting bank credits for the repairs of private houses.
3. Monitors the use of drinking water.
4. Decides on and grants authorizations for the housing of the citizens, with the exception of the workers who are transferred and of the MMP [Ministry of People's Defense]. Approves the change of dwellings.
5. Approves plans for the maintenance of state-owned dwellings.
6. Confirms the condition of the dwellings which are in danger of falling.
7. Decides on expelling, in a compulsory manner, the citizens who are housed in contradiction with regulations.
8. Is concerned about the maintenance of dwellings by tenants.

9. Monitors the execution of monthly plans by the communal enterprises for the maintenance of dwellings, streets, sidewalks, canalizations, green areas and so forth.

10. Monitors the qualitative implementation of the works carried out in accordance with approved funds and takes charge of the projects that are completed.

11. Takes measures for the cleaning of streets and squares, for the maintenance of parks and gardens and for the beautification of the empty spaces between the housing blocks, by means of voluntary labor.

12. Gives confirmation of citizens who have permission to reside in Tirana City; it proceeds in the quarter court, demands the expulsion of those who have no residence permits and monitors the execution of the decision.

13. And accepts the documents and gives its opinion, to the executive committee, of the district people's council, in regard to granting residence permits in Tirana City.

V. /In the field of building, communication and trade: /

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council pursues the implementation of the plan for the quarter and grants permits for new constructions of all kinds, for dwellings and repairs within the limit of constructions of the quarter.

2. Takes measures for preventing illegal constructions. It decides the suspension of the constructions built in contradiction with the plan and without construction permits, makes a report on the latter and sends it to the quarter court and, immediately, informs the executive committee of the district people's council about their destruction.

3. Takes care of the regular supplying of trade units with industrial and agricultural products.

4. Monitors and requests reports on the fulfillment of the plan for the circulation of goods.

5. And controls the execution of regulations by trade units and communal services, units dealing with good service, the application of prices, cleanliness and quality of work and so forth.

VI. /In the field of education and culture: /

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council takes care of and takes measures for the maintenance of teaching and educational work in kindergartens, creches, pioneer houses and in the 8-year middle schools, with the exception of those which have a national character.

2. Takes measures for the implementation of compulsory school attendance and for the fulfillment of the education plan in the middle and pre-school education.
3. Adopts measures to get ready for the beginning of the new school year.
4. Monitors activity and takes measures so that teachers will execute their tasks.
5. Monitors and checks the cultural, artistic and physical-educational activity in the institutions, enterprises and schools located in the quarter.
6. Monitors and controls the work in the libraries situated in the quarter.
7. Administers children's kindergartens and approves admissions of children to them.
8. Decides on excluding students from compulsory school attendance, in accordance with the relevant instructions of the Ministry of Education and Culture.
9. Organizes and manages summer vacations for children.
10. Takes care of the preservation and maintenance of cultural monuments, engraved stones, commemorative plaques and places where remarkable events of the past have taken place, especially during the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and during the period of the building of socialism, and of other works.
11. Decides on the rights to study for all the categories of lower and middle schools, in accordance with the plan sent by the executive committee of the district people's council, and gives its opinion on the rights to study in higher schools and scholarships.
12. And takes measures for the maintenance of schools and for their repair and equipping with appropriate inventory.

VII. /In the field of health:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council monitors the activity of health institutions. It monitors the implementation of preventive and curative measures. Takes care of the health of mother and child.
2. Takes measures for the application of hygiene and health regulations in enterprises and institutions.
3. Monitors and controls the work of health institutions for the health education of the population.

4. Checks the execution of the tasks by the medical personnel.
5. Administers children's creches and approves the admission of children to them.
6. Manages the demographical commission and takes care of the functioning of the environmental protection group and of the epidemiological detection and observation.
7. Creates the guardianship commission and controls its activity.

Decides on the placement of orphans, the aged and the mentally retarded in appropriate institutions, in accordance with approved criteria.

VIII. /In the various fields: /

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council manages the Bureau of Vital Statistics.
2. Takes measures for extending the system of trade, of health and of communal services in accordance with the requests and needs of the population.
3. Grants permission for the transformation of privately-owned houses.
4. Sets the working hours of the trade units and communal services in agreement with the relevant enterprises.
5. Appoints or grants admission papers for work to the personnel of the health, educational and cultural institutions and of the communal services, as well as to the sales persons of the trade system, in accordance with established criteria. When it is necessary, it takes or requests the adoption of disciplinary measures, on the basis of the provisions in force.
6. Monitors the organization and implementation of scientific works by the institutions and sectors under its jurisdiction, for the best possible solution of the present problems and of those in the future.
7. Proposes the awarding of moral stimuli.
8. Controls and takes measures against the exercising of unauthorized professions and of private business and takes proceedings against the offenders.
9. And monitors the application of regulations for the maintenance and exact use of the means of weights and measures.

/Footnote: /

The tasks of the people's council of Tirana City quarter also are the tasks of its executive committee, with the exception of those carried out by the people's council itself.

EDITORIAL URGES OBSERVANCE OF AIR FORCE FLIGHT REGULATIONS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: "High Discipline Urged on the Ground and in the Air"]

[Text] The level of military discipline is directly related to the political awareness of personnel, has a tremendous influence on the conduct of fliers in combat, and assures successful mastery of complex modern aviation technology and weaponry. Our party has done everything necessary for the Bulgarian People's Army to be highly organized and disciplined, to fulfill its missions in exemplary fashion and be ready to deliver a knockout blow to imperialist aggressors at any moment.

Lenin saw in aware military discipline the most important condition for the strength and invincibility of an army of the socialist type. By his discipline every Bulgarian serviceman manifests most fully his profoundly felt responsibility for the defense of our socialist homeland. This is expressed in practice by a high state of organization, a developed sense of duty, initiative, perseverance in training and in combat, readiness for tests of any kind on behalf of the people and the party. The success of armies in modern combat depends, to a decisive extent, on the state of morale, the level of political and military training, and the combat skill of personnel.

For aviation units the concept of "discipline" is inseparably linked with the organization of flight operations, the maintenance of strict regulation procedure during days of training and the execution of flights, and the timely and precise performance of official duties and the requirements of guideline documents by every soldier. Unswerving observance of flight regulations is a standing and permanent rule for combat teams. Without strict organization and procedure on the ground and in the air the even flow and safety of flights cannot be assured. Lack of discipline and carelessness in everyday life inevitably carry over to the airfield and may create the preconditions for aircraft accidents.

Inculcating discipline means, first and foremost, building a communist world outlook. Of tremendous importance in this regard are the study of

Marxism-Leninism by soldiers and the explanation of our party and government's foreign and domestic policy, the requirements of the military oath and regulations, and the essence of a conscientious attitude towards military service. In addition, constant observance of regulation procedure in the units plays a special role in strengthening military discipline, being the most important means of inculcating in officers, noncommissioned officers and men permanent habits and practices of organization, precision and diligence. The important thing is that everything be done as commanded by the regulations and the manuals. Or, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov quite accurately emphasized in his recent report to the July plenum of the KCP Central Committee: "The main thing is deeds! Not hullabaloo, but deeds; not big words, but the concrete results of works!"

Experience shows that it is hard for soldiers to be trained in the spirit of strictly executing regulations and their specific obligations when the necessary order is lacking. Thus, for example, in the aviation unit where Officer Slavov serves, certain systematic deviations from regulation duties and the violation of discipline and guideline documents had an adverse effect for a certain time on the missions performed by the collective.

This example fully suffices for us to arrive at the conclusion that if an aviation commander limits himself to just explaining the regulations and appealing for the observance of discipline without backing this up by constant concern over strict observance of the day's schedule and improvement of the soldiers' physical and living conditions and cultural recreation, the fruitfulness of educational work will be low. The whole way of life in the subunits must be so ordered that the most favorable conditions are created for successful fulfillment of combat- and political-training plans, for the strengthening of discipline and, hence, for a constant rise of combat readiness as well.

In those units where commanders unswervingly follow the requirements of the regulations, the socialist way of life becomes strong and unshakable; its educational significance and influence on organization and discipline rise. Thus, for example, in the aviation units where officers Sinapov, Kostadinov et al. serve, the officials constantly check on how regulation procedure is observed during flights, on whether motor transport and personnel carry into effect established traffic rules in the region of the airfield etc. Questions of discipline are constantly discussed at party and Communist Youth Union meetings and in sessions of the bureaus. Oral and visual agitation is skillfully used to popularize the experience of the winners in socialist competition.

The continuous improvement of weapons raises the responsibility of every crew, team and element for personal discipline and diligence. New criteria of military discipline have appeared. The role of such components of combat readiness as time discipline, individual and collective responsibility of soldiers for the execution of assigned missions, flight discipline, and combat discipline has been amplified immeasurably. All this

obliges commanders not to tolerate even the slightest deviations from the provisions of regulations or the requirements of instructions and manuals.

Events make ever new, ever higher demands on the armed defenders of our socialist fatherland. What is progress today can no longer satisfy us tomorrow. We must regard even the best results as a foundation for achieving still higher results in combat and political training, as an effort worthily to greet the impending 12th BCP Congress!

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

AUTHOR CALLS FOR SOBER DEPICTION OF INTERNAL SECURITY HEROES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Bogdan Gloginski: "Sons of the Revolution--On the Eve of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Agencies Day"]

[Text] For several years I have been working on a lengthy novel entitled "Vlast" [Power]. The main hero is a responsible employee in the MVR agencies. Colleagues and friends who know that the novel is already written frequently ask me why I have not yet submitted it to press. Let me confess that I ask myself this question, too. I have an explanation, of course. What holds me back is the realization that we absolutely must no longer write sloppily about these people. The traditional artistic devices amassed during the great "boom" of "crime" and "adventure" literature have long exposed their weakness, while hasty gilding quite frankly covers up their true image and erodes their arduous heroism. Neither from others nor from them have we heard that the employees of the socialist agencies of the MVR are by no means the sort we see in some films or books.

Nor are they the sort they appear to us to be at first glance in the street and in offices.

What is their true character, then? Is it, perhaps, narrow escapes from the dark forest of the criminal world, or finding their way out of the labyrinths fabricated by enemy spies and foreign acts of sabotage? Or is it getting over colds and sieges of sleeplessness from hours on traffic control posts or while making rounds on patrol? There is no denying, all this is heroism of a high and most essential order; it is marked by self-denial and readiness to sacrifice oneself; it merits not only a tip of the hat, but also a bow. But all this in one form or another is true, as well, of many policemen in the most reactionary countries--there, too, they exchange gunfire with gangsters; there, too, they unriddle the puzzles of dangerous recidivists. . .

So it is something else.

Let us think back to the first step of our people's government. What did it have and what did it not have then? It did not have enough bread! It

did not have enough clothing. It did not have its own army. It did not have its own diplomats. It did not have its own economy. It did not have scores and hundreds of things that it required to be active and beneficial. But from the very first second it did have its loyal sentinels--the people's militiamen, the first employees in the young agencies of a just-born, qualitatively new NVR.

That is why our freedom survived. That is why it has grown to maturity.

Yellowed newspaper photographs, stills from oldtime newsreels and the reminiscences of our elders present them to us without counterfeit. Partisans grown lean in blockades and campaigns. Pale political prisoners. Unshaven workers. Apprentices and journeymen from artisans' workshops. Sons of rural supporters of the guerrillas. High-school boys and students from poor families. The party's far-seeing appeal and their great class intuition made them see the five-pointed cloth star on their caps, put the red ribbon around their left sleeve, and in the very first minute take their stand at their post without retreating or march off on two-man patrol.

Now what did they have and what did they not have?

The archives and records of that time indicate that they had plenty of some things. Untreated diseases. Unhealed wounds. Sieges of sleeplessness and fatigue. And they had many--it is inconceivable how many--tasks. The only thing they did not have was pay-rolls. But they stayed at their posts.

Afterwards some perished. While we slept in our peaceful homes, while we were marrying off our sons and daughters and perhaps while we were shopping in the store, they were breathing their last from the stab of a knife or they fell from the direct hit of a bullet. Everybody knows whose knives and whose bullets. There is a list in the ministry of those who perished most valiantly, under the heading: Enlisted forever in the line of battle. We read many names there: Kharizan Tashev, Manol Golev, Spas Kolevichin, Evstatii Zakhariev, Boris Ralev, Georgi Tropaliev, Saban Aptiev. . . In accordance with the sacred laws of proletarian patriotism and internationalism, in accordance with the wise counsel of Georgi Dimitrov, and from the example of the Soviet members of Cheka, the NVR agencies were transformed, from their very first breath, into an amalgamation of the most honorable sons of the homeland. They rose up in united ranks against foreign and domestic conspirators, against stealthy deeds and treacherous schemes.

According to Lenin's definition, this was and remains a "stubborn battle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogic and administrative," a battle against the forces and traditions of the old world, a battle for the victory of eternal visions and day-dreams newly bursting forth. But not only is man's striving to surmount pain eternal; our new society's impulsion towards true humanism is inmost, too.

It is in this way that we can explain certain remarkable features of the MVR agencies. How easy it is to serve divinely anointed personages and favored elites: brandish the lash of force, lift the club of brutality and implant fear and subordination. . . Today, though armed with pistols the MVR agencies are called upon to "shoot" with prevention, even against law violators--to persuade, devote themselves mainly to correctional and educational tasks, and fall back on harsh legal punishment only as a last resort.

The poet Danyan Danyanov and I know the chief of an important MVR office, who interceded like a veritable father for the publication of a prisoner's poem. "He was sentenced for evil-doing," the chief insisted. "Let us reward him for something good. . ." I know the head of an MVR okrug administration who went to visit in prison a criminal put behind bars, not by others but by him. I know an official investigator who wept because of an erroneous course in his colleague's actions. All of us know something similar about them. For they are our brothers, our fellow tenants or our neighbors, friends from childhood; like us, susceptible to colds and diseases; like us, husbands and parents; like us, overburdened with family concerns or calamities. But we have always asked more of them. And we will continue to do so, of course. And they must give it, not just within the limits of their working hours and place of work, but everywhere else as well. This is what their military mission commands.

Their front is indeed unbounded. Freed of the duty of serving big shots, castes and elite groups, they devote their waking hours to everything else and that is limitless because it encompasses the whole and happy life of the people, the all-inclusive peaceful labor of the people, the inviolable rights of the people, the most lawful march of the people--the march towards communism, predicted, mapped out and led by the communist party. A great front. A sacred front.

All this, of course, deserves sincere and really penetrating works. But before and above everything else it deserves the involvement of every citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

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CSO: 2200

FRANCE PRAISED FOR 'REALISTIC POSITION' IN RELATIONS WITH CEMA

West Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 9 No 9, Sep 80 pp 34-40, 64

[Article by Paul Freiberg, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics: "Realistic Position of France in Foreign Economic Relations with CEMA Countries--Continuous Activity toward Development of East-West Economic Relations--Rejection of U.S. Boycott Course--Positive Development Trend in Commodity Exchange--New Forms of Cooperation"]

[Text] As far as the the preservation of the rule of imperialism and thus the basic anticommunist position are concerned, the foreign policies of the imperialist countries are essentially in agreement; nevertheless, on many specific issues of foreign-policy strategy and tactics in dealing with the socialist countries, they partly assume widely differentiated positions.

This has been confirmed once again in the course of the current aggravation of the international situation which has been brought about by American imperialism. During the first few months of this decade, queer shadings emerged between the positions of the United States and those of Western Europe, something which undoubtedly is objectively due to the fact that the detente process of the seventies revealed the positive results precisely in Europe. In Western Europe itself however one can also observe definite gradations among the individual imperialist states; they are expressed particularly in the differing position which is being adopted toward the policy of the United States in dealing with the Soviet Union. French Premier Raymond Barre on 10 January of this year described it as follows in a speech: "France has a policy of its own through which it defends its own interests. But that does not mean that it downgrades the solidarity which links it to a large number of countries. Of course, in terms of its spirit, this solidarity does not signify unconditional agreement." This view was underscored also by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in an interview on 26 February 1980¹.

France's pronounced interest in the continuation of detente was demonstrated above all by the meeting between President Giscard d'Estaing and CPSU Central Committee Secretary-General and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet USSR Leonid I. Brezhnev in Warsaw on 19 May 1980, which was the first East-West meeting on the very highest level -- the dangerous

aggravation of the international situation by United States imperialism and which can be described as "a further expression of the constant and close political dialogue such as it is characteristic of Soviet-French Relations"². In spite of the differing viewpoints of both sides on individual issues, Giscard d'Estaing termed the talks a "positive contribution to detente" whose objective it was "on a high level to clarify the development of the international situation and to find methods to reduce the existing tensions"³.

This vision held by France and the specific French viewpoint expressed in it by decisive forces among the French bourgeoisie--which is partly running into open resistance in the United States⁴, was noted during the Giscard-Brezhnev meeting--did not develop just recently.

Continuation of French Eastern Policy

As we review the development of relations between the two opposing social systems over the past two decades, we can see that France always to a greater degree assumed positions which promoted the advance of these relations--more so than other imperialist states. That also applies to present times. While the attitude of leading French politicians may be contradictory in many ways--above all due to France's strong ties with the military-political and economic alliance systems of imperialism, such as NATO and EC--these ties nevertheless last but not least are also guided by the lessons that were learned to the effect that especially Europe most strongly felt the favorable effects of the detente policy of the seventies and that it is least of all in its interest that the international situation at the turn toward the eighties became considerably more complicated.

This attitude very extensively corresponds to public opinion and thus to the political balance of power in the country. This is why the attitude of leading French politicians, which in many ways is realistic and differentiated, and the specific domestic-policy balance of power must not be disregarded when France's president on 26 January 1980--almost at the height of the anti-Soviet campaign stirred up by the Carter Administration--declared that, in case of growing tensions, questions of security assume greater significance than in the past. France's course heading toward further detente must be confirmed especially for this reason.

France was the first major capitalist country--especially since the middle of the sixties--which began to pursue a policy which was aimed at detente and more comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries and which thus, up to a certain degree, accommodates the constructive proposals of those countries regarding the consolidation of international security. This adaptation process in France's foreign policy took place earlier and more profoundly than in other imperialist powers. Economic, trade-policy, and scientific-technical interests and requirements, the powerful pressure from the anti-imperialist forces in the country's interior, the search of French governments for an enhanced role for France and greater independence

within the imperialist camp, as well as the relatively pronounced realism of certain circles among the bourgeoisie brought about this approach between French foreign policy and certain viewpoints and attitudes held by the socialist states⁵.

To be sure, this process did not develop free of contradictions and delaying tendencies but, as its result, relations between France and the socialist states developed positively over the past 15 years. It was undoubtedly significant for the stabilization of peace and the in-depth development of detente in Europe, especially also for the development of constructive relations between countries with different social systems.

In an interview with the Moscow publication NEW TIMES, in December 1979, France's Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet observed: "France and the USSR were among the first countries to pave the way leading to Helsinki. Just shortly before the CSCE, they tried to give detente a concrete content, for which purpose they launched and developed bilateral cooperation. Now they must contribute to the consolidation and in-depth development of this detente process"⁶.

To be sure, it would not be in keeping with the dialectics of the development of international relations if one were to overlook the fact that, since the beginning of the seventies, in view of the growing economic difficulties and the rising influence of the left-wing forces within France, tendencies can be observed among the ruling circles of that country toward an increased turn to the United States and a renewed approach to NATO. The realism of the ruling circles however is so far developed that France, precisely in times of aggravation of the international situation, as a rule pursued a course which ran counter to such complications.

For Continuation of Detente

The continual efforts not to be drawn into the peace-threatening, global-political machinations of American imperialism and certain right-wing forces in Western Europe, especially in Great Britain and the FRG, is of great political significance especially at the present time regarding the further development of East-West relations. Giscard d'Estaing on 26 February 1980 underscored, on French television, the fact that his country to be sure does belong to NATO and stands with that alliance, that it is connected to other Western democracies with bonds of solidarity, but that all of that did not prevent France from pursuing an independent policy and rejecting a condition of subordination. In view of the current conflict situation, he viewed one of the most important tasks of the chief of state to reside in "crisis management, that is to say, finding peaceful ways out of crises."

The French foreign minister had adopted the same attitude already back in the middle of February 1980 in an interview with the Finnish news agency STT when he observed that France starts with the idea of continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union and doing nothing that might cause the

Cold War to break out again. His country, the foreign minister stressed, considers the process launched by the Helsinki Conference to be very important; he considered it a stabilizing and promoting factor among the group of European countries, the United States, and Canada. The events in Afghanistan in no way reduced the need for seeking for ways to solve security problems in Europe.

France's differentiated attitude emerged also during the Bonn-Paris Summit meeting early in February of this year, when Giscard d'Estaing, after completion of his meeting with FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt rejected any assumptions to the effect that the joint declaration at the end of their meeting signifies a "hardening" toward the Soviet Union and stressed that this instead is right in line with France's policy so far, that is to say, to defend the gains of detente⁷. Early in 1980, the French foreign minister had already adopted the viewpoint that his country would not approve any economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. If one were to adopt "hasty" economic reprisals, like the United States, he observed, then one would thus be renewing the Cold War and one would be putting an end to detente⁸.

Economic Cooperation: Objective Requirement

The economic factor is of by no means minor significance for France's realistic attitude. The French monopoly bourgeoisie has for a long time considered it to be a special task to push the country's industrialization so far that France's lag, regarding its potential, especially with respect to the FRG, but in some areas also with respect to Great Britain, would be reduced and that its international positions would thus be strengthened. That calls for fundamental structural changes in the economy⁹, for which foreign policy is to create favorable conditions and in particular is to open up possibilities for industrial expansion.

Economic relations with the socialist countries play a by no means minor role here. France hopes to get above all long-term and steady supply sources for raw material and fuels from them, plus an expansion of the sales market for the products of its own industry and agriculture. With the help of scientific-technological cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union, the technological gap with respect to the other capitalist industrial countries, above all the United States, is likewise to be closed. This applies especially to the area of basic research. Although a growing number of French enterprises in recent years participated in economic cooperation, one must nevertheless not overlook the fact that, within the French bourgeoisie likewise, there is no uniform opinion as to these relationships and that their economic and political benefits are being judged in different ways. Certain circles among French monopoly capital are also interested in exploiting intensified economic relations so as to influence the socialist countries, to create a situation of economic dependence or to achieve political effects.

But it is not only foreign-policy considerations--such as the above-mentioned expansion of the foreign-policy leeway--which cause larger segments of

French monopoly capital to come out in favor of developed economic relations with the socialist states. Instead, problems of France's economy play an important role. Here we must also look for decisive motivations behind this kind of collaboration: the relatively heavy dependence of the French economy on foreign countries, the slowdown in the development of the French economic situation in recent years, the fact that the balance of trade has essentially shown a deficit since 1962, the need for structural changes in the economy, etc.

Above all however, the tempo of economic growth has slowed down severely in 1979; the output in the capital goods sector, mostly sustained by the foreign demand, has declined severely and unemployment has revealed a rising tendency for many years, etc.¹⁰. On top of that there is the further aggravation of competition on the world market. In view of these international economic factors as well as the fact that the market is shrinking back home due to the developing cyclic economic crisis it is entirely understandable that French monopoly capital places great value on the expansion of trade with the socialist countries.

This also applies in the current complicated international situation. For example, at the end of March 1980, a comprehensive treaty was signed between the French Ambassador in Moscow, H. Froment-Meurice, and Soviet Foreign Minister N. S. Patolichev; according to that treaty, two French companies, specializing in the exploration and extraction of petroleum on the high seas, received a contract amounting to F500 million. According to the provisions of the contract, they will erect two factories in turnkey condition, specifically, near Baku and in the Volga Delta. These factories will turn out petroleum extraction systems which will be installed starting in 1981 in the oil fields in the Caspian Sea, in the Far North, and in the Pacific Ocean off Sakhalin¹¹. The fact that this kind of equipment was a special topic of embargo discussions in the United States only underscores France's independent attitude also in comparison to other EC countries.

In Paris there is growing realization that Washington's pressure upon its partners is based only superficially on the so-called Afghanistan problem but in fact is motivated by the idea of once again achieving predominance over the allies or taking up the role of a world policeman and in this sense reducing East-West economic relations and placing them under American control.

The exponents of the United military-industrial complex have always been peeved over the fact that peaceful trade with the socialist countries brought increasing benefits to an ever larger number of Western European countries during the seventies. They viewed that as a threat to their own interests because East-West trade also reduces their dependence on United States monopoly capital and thus on Washington's selfish foreign trade policy. This is why the United States is applying massive political pressure on its partners: "If our allies, in view of the threat from the Soviet Union, will retain their earlier business relations with it, then

tension in NATO can become unbearable," threatened American Senator W. Proxmire¹².

On the other hand, business circles in Western Europe, especially France, clearly gave the United States to understand that they do not desire a rehash of the Cold War in the field of economic relations. As Jacques Chirac, a leading French politician, declared recently in Paris, "The economy is a sector in which everybody must look out for his own interests¹³. There is no desire to exchange the way of detente, which was cleared with such great effort, for a course of confrontation in the style of the Cold War.

Through this position, decisive French politicians set a positive example as against the hard-line attacks of the United States and its advocates in Western Europe. This is a stabilizing factor although one may not overlook the fact that, in that country likewise, there are enemies of detente who try to tie the hands of those politicians who pursue a realistic course.

Growing Significance of East-West Trade

At the very focus of France's foreign-policy and foreign-trade relations with the socialist states we find relations with the USSR. In spite of the efforts of the socialist countries and growing French activities in the field of economic cooperation, all possibilities are certainly far from having been fully exhausted.

Thus, the share of the CEMA countries out of French foreign trade is still relatively modest and is about 3-4 percent. On the other hand, foreign trade between France and the CEMA countries rose from \$373.1 million in 1960 to \$7,322.4 million in 1979 (see table), including, with the GDR, from \$20.9 million in 1960 to \$579.6 million in 1979, that is to say, during the last couple of years and especially in 1979 we can observe a significant increase in mutual trade. With an increase of more than 34 percent from 1978 until 1979, France's trade with the CEMA countries during that year grew considerably faster than France's total foreign trade (up 29.5 percent).

France's Foreign Trade with CEMA Member Countries

	1960	2	1965	2	1970	2	1975	2	1979	2
	1 Mio US\$	v. H.	1 Mio US\$	v. H.	1 Mio US\$	v. H.	1 Mio US\$	v. H.	1 Mio US\$	v. H.
Gesamtaußenhandel/ 3	13 142.2		20 384.1		36 861.2		106 452.0		204 855.6	
darunter mit Mitglieds-										
ländern des RGW 4	373.1	100	572.1	100	1 100.5	100	4 290.7	100	7 322.4	100
(2) am Gesamtaußenhandel 5	2.8		2.8		3.0		4.0		3.6	
2										
6										
DDR 7	210.3	56.4	218.0	38.1	476.7	43.3	1 913.8	44.6	3 795.6	51.8
Polen 8	36.6	9.8	68.8	11.7	149.2	13.6	976.3	22.8	1 156.8	15.8
DDR 9	20.9	5.6	85.0	14.8	102.1	9.2	341.0	7.9	579.6	7.9
CSSR 10	28.0	7.5	62.1	10.9	96.8	8.8	284.1	6.2	319.2	4.4
Ungarische VR 11	26.8	7.2	36.6	6.4	73.7	6.7	258.1	6.0	363.6	4.9
SR Rumänien 12	39.5	10.6	72.6	12.7	135.3	12.3	378.3	8.8	897.6	12.3
VR Bulgarien 13	11.0	2.9	31.0	5.4	66.7	6.1	159.1	3.7	210.0	2.9

Key: 1--Millions of U.S. dollars; 2--Percent; 3--Total foreign trade; 4--Including trade with CEMA member countries; 5--Share out of total foreign trade; 6--Including; 7--USSR; 8--Polish People's Republic; 9--GDR; 10--Czechoslovakia; 11--Hungarian People's Republic; 12--Romanian Socialist Republic; 13--Bulgarian People's Republic. Source: Statistics of Foreign Trade, Monthly Bulletin (published OECD), Paris, Series A, current.

If we look at the overall development of French foreign trade with the CEMA countries, we can find that the main growth rates took place during the seventies, in other words, during the period of time when the international detente process began to unfold and had an advantageous effect on economic relations between countries with different social systems. In spite of the crisis-like development on the international capitalist market in the middle of the seventies--which also impaired East-West economic relationships--France's foreign trade with the CEMA countries during those years likewise revealed relatively steady growth rates which partly were above those of other capitalist countries. Soviet orders thus made it possible to triple French-Soviet trade between 1975 and 1979.

Among the socialist countries, the USSR is France's biggest trade partner. While the absolute trade volume, in relation to French foreign trade, is relatively small, imports from the Soviet Union nevertheless are by no means insignificant when it comes to meeting the raw material requirements of certain French industry branches. Thus France procures the following shares of its total imports from the USSR: anthracite 45 percent, chrome ore 27 percent, cotton 42 percent, asbestos 36 percent, and raw aluminum 12 percent¹⁴.

Since the start of this year, France has also been getting natural gas shipments from the USSR via the pipeline that runs through Austria and the FRG to France from where it is piped into the French network by the French government gas supply enterprise "Gaz de France." With the commissioning of this direct pipeline from the Soviet Union, France first of all gets 4 billion cubic meters of natural gas and that provides 14 percent of the French gas supply, as against 9.5 percent until now¹⁵. This is a share which contributes to the stability of the French energy supply to a by no means minor degree; in the meantime, "Gaz de France" has expressed its interest in increasing Soviet gas deliveries¹⁶.

But the structure of mutual trade is still unsatisfactory above all for the CEMA countries and here we come to one of the causes of the negative foreign trade balance between the CEMA countries and France. Thus, the raw material and fuel share out of imports from the CEMA countries in 1977 came to about 60.6 percent (80.1 percent in 1960) while the share of machinery and equipment (SITC Group 7) was 8.3 percent in 1977 (4.2 percent in 1960). In trade between the USSR and France, the latter grew from 1 to 3.6 percent between 1960 and 1977¹⁷. To be sure, it must be noted that the share of finished products generally reveals a rising tendency and that the share of raw materials and fuels is declining, in other words, foreign trade is increasingly becoming adjusted to the requirements of effective division of labor.

One cause of this commodity structure, which so far is not satisfactory for the CEMA countries, is to be found in the existing discrimination procedures. For example, right now, about 35 percent of all GDR exports to France are subjected to obstructive import regulations¹⁸. Compared to other EC countries and those that are associated with the EC, commodities

imposed from the CEMA countries are slapped with considerably higher customs duties. The restrictive measures, ordered partly by France and partly by the EC, frequently hit precisely those commodities which are among the most important export commodities from the CEMA countries. Here again we can still see the considerable discrepancies between the status of political relations and the practice of economic relations. The USSR repeatedly--for example, during summit meetings, during the conferences of mixed commissions--pointed up possibilities for expanding economic relations whose implementation however, for the previously mentioned objective and subjective reasons, especially on the French side, is making only gradual progress.

It is precisely the realistic attitude of France in the complicated international situation--such as it emerges at the present time--which leads us to expect that economic relations with the CEMA countries will likewise reveal a further rising trend and that their growth rate will speed up, something in which leading French personalities repeatedly expressed their interest. According to the ideas developed at the 14th conference of the Permanent Mixed Soviet-French Commission for Scientific-Technical and Economic Cooperation, in October 1979, trade once again is tripled between 1980 and 1985¹⁹.

For the Sake of Expanding Relations with the GDR

The general continuity of French foreign policy toward the socialist states likewise emerges in relations with the GDR. During his visit to Berlin early in February of this year, French foreign trade minister Jean-Francois Deniau confirmed that relations between the GDR and the French Republic have developed advantageously to mutual benefit and that there is a common interest in their expansion. This was expressed on the signing of a program, in Berlin, on 1 February 1980, regarding the development of economic, industrial, and technical relations between the GDR and France for the years 1980-1985, as well as the start of negotiations on a ten-year agreement covering economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the two countries which represents the foundation for bilateral economic relations until 1990 and which was signed in Paris on 24 April 1980. Minister Deniau emphasized on that occasion that it is the desire of the government in Paris and French economic circles, on the basis of this long-term agreement, dynamically to expand economic relations with the GDR, something which will also have positive influence on the development of general relations between the two countries²⁰.

Olivier Stirn, secretary of state attached to the minister of foreign affairs and member of the French Cabinet, during his visit to the GDR in April 1980 expressed the opinion that the prospects for more comprehensive cooperation with the GDR at this time are to be found especially in the field of railroads, the chemical industry, and motor vehicle construction. These are sectors which--as was confirmed at the 1980 Leipzig Spring Fair--offer starting points for the expanded application of new forms of cooperation²¹.

Resistance to Boycott Measures

The attitude assumed by France regarding American boycott demands against the USSR shows that the expansion of economic relations with the CEMA countries is considered a real task. Thus, as even FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE had to admit, "The French representatives in Brussels left no doubt that they think nothing of an economic boycott against the Soviet Union. They think that the restrictions ordered now regarding agricultural trade go pretty far"²².

Early in 1980 already France, in the pertinent administrative committee of the EC, had expressed objections to a grain embargo against the USSR²³. France in the EC also opposed²⁴ the credit boycott against the USSR which had been proposed by British lady prime minister Margaret Thatcher. It also rejected the idea of supporting the boycott and technology transfer to the USSR which had been ordered by Carter²⁵.

There is no need to be astonished that this kind of realistic attitude by France did not produce a benevolent reaction in the United States in the light of the complicated international situation created by American imperialism at the start of the year. Thus, the American magazine BUSINESS WEEK wrote the following on 14 January 1980 regarding French-Soviet trade: "At a time when exports to the Soviet Union from most of the major Western countries and Japan have been paralyzed (something which by the way was not at all true--the author), exports by one particular country are making good headway. Soviet purchases in France during the first months of 1979 attained a value of \$1.7 billion, a hefty 42 percent more as compared to the same period of time in 1978. Even more brilliant prospects are to be expected for the French."

France likewise did not fall in line with the 18 March 1980 decision of the United States government to tighten up the embargo against the USSR²⁶. Here we also come to the demands which Paris raised regarding an improvement of the grain export policy of EC, regardless of the boycott ordered by the United States government²⁷.

New Forms of Collaboration with the CEMA Countries

Regarding the further development of economic relations between France and the CEMA countries, it is especially the new forms of collaboration which play an important role. In the interview given by the French foreign minister to the Moscow periodical NEW TIMES in December 1979 we find the following passage: "At this time, neither of our two countries assumes the proper place in the foreign trade of the other country. We must try to correct that situation. But if we want to make our economic relations stable and if we want to give them the necessary dynamics, we must go beyond trade relations and we must move on the road of modern collaboration in the economy and industry"²⁸.

These forms of "modern collaboration" were successfully practiced already in the past. They are based on the long-term agreement concluded between France and most of the CEMA countries regarding economic and scientific-technological collaboration, covering periods between 5 and 15 years, supplemented by long-term specific programs for the in-depth development of this collaboration (usually running 10 years) as well as agreements for certain sectors (transportation, agriculture, exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes, chemical industry, computer technology and electronics, etc.). Most of these treaties were concluded between France and the USSR but some of them were also signed with other CEMA countries, including the GDR²⁹.

These agreements lay the foundations for a new quality of complex collaboration which above all paves the way for future development directions in these relationships. Here the following new forms emerge in terms of critical main points: strengthening of industrial cooperation, of compensation projects, cooperation in multinational undertakings, trilateral cooperation (especially with developing countries), and scientific-technological cooperation. Industrial cooperation is concentrated mostly on the sectors of energy, electronics, machine-building (particularly regarding machine-tools), auto-making, metallurgy, as well as the chemical and petrochemical industries.

The erection of industrial complexes in both France and the USSR as well as enterprises in the USSR on a compensation base has been practiced successfully between France and the USSR in the past. Examples here are the delivery of metallurgical and metal-working equipment to France (supplier shipments for the metallurgical combine at Fos-sur-mer, erection of the biggest hydraulic press in the capitalist world in Issoire, etc.), as well as Soviet purchases of equipment and plants for the auto, chemical, and gas industry from France. On a compensation or partial compensation basis, France among other things supplies equipment for the production of styrene polystyrene, and other chemical products as well as for an aluminum complex³⁰.

The documents signed as a result of the working conference between L. I. Brezhnev and V. Giscard d'Estaing in April 1979 in Moscow, especially the "Long-Term Program for the In-Depth Development of Economic, Industrial, and Technical Collaboration for 1980-1990," as well as the Agreement on Economic Collaboration for 1980-1985, contain the mutual participation in the construction of industrial facilities in both countries, the construction of factories in the USSR for the production of products in which both countries are interested, on a compensation or partial compensation basis, cooperation in production and scientific research, as well as the grant of services and planning of industrial complexes.

These new forms of collaboration are also developing increasingly between France and the GDR³¹. They are advantageous not only for both sides but also effectively contribute to improving the stability and continuity of relations between the participating CEMA countries and France and to meeting the requirements of the Final Act of Helsinki.

It is especially the development of cooperation and the joint production on a balanced basis which create new possibilities for the diversification of commodity exchange and for the increase in shipments of machinery and equipment, other finished products, semifinished products and energy sources. This kind of development of cooperation on the basis of new forms and methods will have by no means insignificant consequences regarding the development of foreign trade structure and this will also result in an expansion of economic relations between the French economy and those countries.

A new quality in cooperation is emerging also in the longer-term agreements between enterprises and institutions of socialist and capitalist countries, such as, for example, the 10-year agreement on scientific-technical cooperation³² signed between the French "Finatec" Company and the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology or the cooperation agreement worked out by the GDR foreign trade enterprise WMW [Machine-Tools and Tools] Export-Import and by combines of the GDR machine-tool-building industry with the French company group of Linne-PSM, calling for joint production and joint sales³³.

The new forms of collaboration include trilateral economic collaboration, in which French enterprises have also been increasingly participating for several years³⁴. To improve economic relations between France and the CEMA countries, there are so-called mixed companies in which CEMA countries and French companies are involved and which in France are active primarily in the sector of circulation.

Scientific-technical cooperation is of no minor significance and it is being promoted especially in France by the government³⁵. By stepping up this type of cooperation, the French government among other things is trying to compensate for or to boost the relatively small volume of trade relations. This is indicated particularly by results achieved so far in such modern sectors of science and technology as space research or nuclear energy. Thus, France is cooperating with the USSR in uranium enrichment, French engineers and scientists are working on the proton accelerator in Serpukhov, USSR, and France is conducting joint research with the USSR in outer space.

Looking at the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, joint efforts are being developed, while the exchange of information on reactors with fast neutrons, in the field of plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear synthesis is being conducted successfully³⁶. French companies also use the Soviet system for evaporation cooling at blast furnaces, they use Soviet technologies for steel smelting (for example, at Schneider-Creusot), etc.

Regardless of the fact that the traditional sectors of cooperation will retain their significance, scientific-technical cooperation, above all with the USSR as France's main partner among the CEMA countries, will undoubtedly

continue to increase during the coming years both quantitatively and qualitatively, as already indicated by the examples mentioned. This is also based on structural interests of the French partner, something which, for example, is underscored by the fact that, in France, a ministry study group for industrial development in strategically important sectors of the economy has been set up with the mission of selecting fields which are of decisive importance to the future of the country's national economy.³⁷

Special mechanisms developed a long time ago for the promotion especially of economic cooperation between France and the CEMA countries. On the basis of the Soviet-French declaration of 30 June 1966, two mixed Soviet-French commissions have already been created; they are the "Great Commission," within whose framework responsible representatives of both sides meet as a rule at least once a year in order to review current and long-range problems of bilateral relations, and the "Small Commission" for scientific-technical and economic cooperation, which already has a series of branch-related mixed study groups³⁸.

The French government in general is utilizing numerous possibilities in order to promote economic relations with the socialist countries on the government level, for example, through interest rate subsidies connected with export loans or by signing agreements on long-term bank loans.

France's realistic and differentiated attitude in complicated international situations, its independent policy also in East-West relations, in the past influenced the latter favorably both in political and economic terms. This is obviously also the longer-range goal of French policy if we start with its attitude during the first half of this year and if we keep in mind the words spoken by Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet during the previously mentioned interview regarding the goals of French policy, two of which he mentioned "The first one is to translate into action as completely as possible all of the principles and provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki, a document which with justification is called a program and at the same time a code of detente. Detente will progress and strikes roots only to the extent that the 35 CSCE countries carry out the program, which they signed so solemnly in Helsinki, in the field of politics, economy, and culture, as well as human rights. The second goal, which serves as a supplement to the first one, is disarmament. There cannot be any real improvement in international relations so long as the arms race burdens the economy of the countries and creates distrust"³⁹.

This attitude by France has a positive effect on the development of East-West economic relations which long ago became a firm component of the entire structure of international economic relations. There are no objective reasons for deviating from the way of detente and restricting commercial and economic exchange. The countries of the socialist community consider the agreement of measures aimed at the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the countries of the CSCE to be an important task which serves the continuation of the detente

process. It is especially France's relations with the socialist countries that furnish evidence of the possibility and necessity of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Giscard d'Estaing, "France's Independent Policy," WEST-OST-JOURNAL, Vienna, 1-2, 1980, p 9
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3. SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 21 May 1980.
4. Press conference of United States Secretary of State Edward Muskie, 21 May 1980, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Zuerich Edition, 21 May 1980, p 1.
5. See "Konfrontation-Entspannung-Zusammenarbeit. Die Ost-politik der kapitalistischen Staaten Europas und ihrer Zusammenschlusse in den 70er Jahren," Berlin, 1979, pp 53 ff.
6. NEW TIMES, Moscow, 52, 1979, p 12.
7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 7 February 1980.
8. DER TAGESSPIEGEL, West Berlin, 8 January 1980.
9. See also A. Kudryavtsev, "Structural Changes in France's Economy," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Moscow, 12, 1979, p 83, Russian.
10. See DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, 20 January 1980, Supplement, pp 10-11.
11. BERLINER ZEITUNG, Berlin, 29-30 March 1980.
12. Quoted from NEW TIMES, 11, 1980, p 28.
13. Ibid.
14. "Main Trends of Import Developments of Western European Countries," BIKI, Moscow, 8, 1979, Supplement, p 31, Russian.
15. SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 5 February 1980.
16. Ibid.
17. BIKI, loc. cit.

18. DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, 6 June 1979, p 3.
19. BIK1, 20 October 1979.
20. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 April 1980.
21. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 April 1980.
22. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Frankfurt (Main), 2 February, 1980.
23. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 12 January 1980.
24. HANDELSBLATT, Duesseldorf, 6 February 1980.
25. HANDELSBLATT, 12 February 1980.
26. HANDELSBLATT, 20 March 1980.
27. HANDELSBLATT, 13 March 1980.
28. NEW TIMES, 53, 1979, p 13.
29. Summary of existing agreements, DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, 6 June 1971, pp 2, 3.
30. Ibid.
31. See in greater detail, M. Wandrow, "Forms of Industrial Cooperation between Socialist States and Capitalist Industrial Countries of Europe," IPW-BERICHT^{CHIE}E, Berlin, 4, 1979, pp 28 ff; see also M. Wandrow, "Cooperation with France," WELTBUEHNE, Berlin, 27, 1979, pp 841 ff.
32. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 May 1980.
33. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17-18 May 1980.
34. See also P. Freibert, J. Nitz, G. Scharschmidt, "On the Character of Trilateral Economic Cooperation," IPW-BERICHT^{CHIE}E, 2, 1979, pp 17 ff.
35. See also P. Freiberg, J. Nitz, "Growing Scientific-Technological Relations between Socialist and Capitalist Countries," IPW-BERICHT^{CHIE}E, 10, 1977, pp 39 ff.
36. See DIE WIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, 10, 1978, p 24.
37. HANDELSBLATT, 25 March 1980.
38. See also "Westeuropa in der heutigen Welt," Berlin 1979, pp 519-521.
39. NEW TIMES, 52, 1979, p 13.

5058

CSO: 2300

'TANJUG' ASSESSES BALTIC STRIKES AFTER PZPR PROPOSALS

LD251848 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The strike on the Baltic is continuing but nevertheless "there is order everywhere," the Polish news agency PAP announced at noon today in reporting on the situation in Baltic towns following yesterday's major changes in the Polish party and government leadership. The Polish United Workers Party Politbureau member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the government's commission, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, has been in Gdansk since this morning. His task is to acquaint the Factories' Strike Committee with the Central Committee's decisions. The government agreed to conduct talks with the committee only under the conditions of sharpened crisis. Observers assess the situation will be clarified by the meeting between the government's commission and the factories' committee scheduled to be held today.

Yesterday evening the Poles were informed by the television and the press about all the steps taken by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek personally, and the Council of State.

The proposals offered in yesterday's session of the PUWP Central Committee as a new platform are today discussed throughout the Baltic region. According to the situation there, and considering that the strikes continue, it looks as though the new platform, including cadre changes, did not meet the workers' demands. At the moment it is at least reiterated that the workers did not go on strike dissatisfied solely with their personal standard of living and the living conditions.

CSO: 2020

'TANJUG' REPORTS ON POLISH WORKERS' DEMANDS

LD272015 Belg-ade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug (TANJUG)--The negotiations between the government commission and the Factories' Strike Committee continue. After the government made new concessions, agreement is officially seen as possible.

The negotiations conducted in Gdansk concern two groups of the strikers' demands. The first group of demands relates to the improvement of living conditions of the Polish working class--wages in harmony with living costs, better supply of the market, more flats, higher pensions, etc. The government has agreed to consider these demands and satisfy them in accordance with the country's material possibilities.

The second group of demands is of a political nature. It is here that the views of the representatives of the government and the strikers are in the sharpest disagreement. The Polish press today writes that the Factories' Strike Committee demands "independent trade union," the government representatives have conveyed to the strikers that the government will agree that within the existing, clays [? as received] trade union organization such changes be made as would enable the trade unions to "entirely become a self-management organization, profoundly committed to the needs of work collectives, a consistent advocate of their rights and interests."

At yesterday's session of the Central Council of the Polish Trade Unions, at which its new president was elected, it was stressed that it is essential to bring about a profound renewal of the trade union movement, expand the trade unions' prerogatives, strengthen their ties with work collectives and successfully defend their interests.

The discussion at the session of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Poland indicated the manner in which "a deep change of the trade unions" will be carried out. A new law on trade unions, to be adopted by the end of the year, is to "guarantee the conditions for an independent and autonomous activity of the trade union movement within the system of socialist democracy." This law should provide for the trade unions to be granted the "control" of a "broadly conceived social policy of the state," to control the implementation of that point by the government and other administrative offices and to take initiatives in legislation. This law is also to provide for the right to strike in case "all other means of influencing the state and economic administration to change wrong decisions are exhausted."

CSO: 2020

SFRY'S 'BORBA' REPORTS GIEREK'S ADDRESS TO POLISH PEOPLE

AU211240 Belgrade Borba in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 80 p 7

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Aug (TANJUG)--Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, last night addressed the nation over television and all Polish radio stations and appealed to the people to preserve order and peace in the country.

Referring to the events in Gdansk, where there have been strikes in recent days, Gierek said that these events have "a dangerous aspect" and that the anti-socialist and anarchist groups have wanted to exploit these events for political purposes.

It is possible to understand the emotional and tense atmosphere that reigns in Gdansk, but it is our duty to say that no activity against the foundations of the sociopolitical system can be or will be tolerated. No one can expect any compromises as regards this question, Gierek stated and emphasized that "there are limits on which no one may trespass." The sense of responsibility for the good of the country must be present among all people, he added.

Gierek pointed out that, at this time, there are many problems in Poland that can and should be discussed and in connection with which it is possible and necessary to become involved. Among these problems are primarily the difficulties faced by Poland at this time and even the question of responsibility but what Poland today needs is internal calm, Gierek stressed.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee also spoke about Poland's post-war achievements in developing freedom and democracy. According to him, much has been achieved in this respect in the last decade and it is thanks to these achievements that the political divisions in the Polish society, too, have been overcome. However, according to Gierek, all this has now been jeopardized by the activity of the forces that strive to divide Polish society and create an atmosphere of hostility.

Gierek emphasized that Poland would consistently continue to fulfill its international obligations. He commented on the country's economic situation. He appraised the question of food and especially the meat supply for the population as Poland's vital problem at this time. In this context, Gierek said that the situation in Polish agriculture precludes a quick improvement of the meat market

situation even though there will be additional imports in this connection. However, according to Gierek, the Polish people will have enough flour, sugar and other food products and the supply of industrial consumer goods will be improved.

The head of the Polish party also spoke about questions of economic leadership and planning, the harmonious development of all parts of the country, the need for a better work organization and higher productivity and about the projects that have been already initiated in this connection. Gierek said that the policy pursued by the Polish party and state can only be implemented if it is supported by all.

CSO: 2800

'BORBA' REPORTS ON STRIKE SITUATION

AU221458 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Aug (TANJUG)--The strikes in Poland continue. In addition to Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot and the Elblag Voivodship, the strikes have spread to the big port and shipbuilding city of Szczecin. Thus, the entire Baltic coast is on strike. The main transportation route of Poland has been cut.

At this moment, about 100 ships under foreign flags, not counting the Polish ships, are waiting in the Baltic ports to load and unload. Huge quantities of industrial goods, raw materials and fuel are waiting to be loaded onto ships or unloaded from them.

The central Polish press today for the first time warns the nation about this dimension of the strike and points out that these losses cannot easily be made good. These are costs, the press says, which all of Poland is paying and which will hurt the entire country in this situation which anyhow is complex and grave.

The press repeats Edward Gierek's words that the country at this moment needs internal peace.

In the cities gripped by strikes, the strikers stay in their factories and enterprises, which certainly is very important. Since 2100 hours last night, the representatives of the collectives on strike have negotiated in Gdansk with a special governmental commission. This commission is headed by Tadeusz Pyka, deputy premier. No details of these negotiations have been announced.

A plenum of the voivodship committee of the party was held in Szczecin yesterday and Premier Babiuch took part in its work. The central Polish press reports today from this meeting that the demands of the strikers include requests whose "realization under certain conditions"--which is to day, at the present moment--is impossible.

It appears that the list of the demands has been expanded to the political field. It is no accident that the central newspapers--the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU and the daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY--stress today and warn in some way: The socialist system of the Polish state and the socialist social relations remain the common denominator of all citizens of Poland.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY openly points out the enemies of socialism in Poland, expanding on what Gierek himself said in his address to the nation on Monday evening about one aspect of the strikes.

Referring to the activities of these antisocialist elements, or rather the dissident groups whose representatives seem to be among the ranks of the strikers, too, ZYCIE WARSZAWY asks in its commentary today: Who do these groups want to fight over the workers' backs? Where have they come from now, after so many years of social and political changes in Poland? These groups must be offered constant resistance. Their strivings have nothing in common with the true interests of the workers' class and their entire people, the paper says and asks: Must differences in views, frequently extremely opposite views, lead to a disorganization of life in enterprises and in the trade unions, must they lead to a breakup of the legal order?

Great Difficulties

It is not possible to say exactly what is happening in the Baltic cities gripped by strikes. It appears that the difficulties are great. According to Radio Warsaw reports yesterday and at noon today, public transportation in these Baltic cities is not functioning. In Szczecin, the pupils today did not go to school, although the new school year has started. Nurses and hospital personnel in Gdansk have been accommodated in hotels, obviously because city transport is not working; other public services are also not working.

According to reports, shops will open in Szczecin today.

The strikes on the Baltic, in a manner of speaking, are the third "wave" affecting Poland this summer. In the first wave, the strikes appeared at the beginning of July, and then again at the beginning of August, and the third wave still continues.

The beginning of the strikes in July was caused by the increase in the price of meat. The citizens of Poland, however, were aware then and are aware now that this was only a pretext. The causes are deeper and more complex and they have been accumulating just as the economic difficulties of the country have been accumulating and getting more complicated, especially in the last year and a half.

Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in his speech to the nation on Monday evening, spoke about this frankly and in keeping with the traditional values of Polish democracy and freedom.

The Party Line

It is difficult, Gierek said then, to list all the causes provoking these economic problems and leading to social dissatisfaction in this country. However, apart from many objective reasons, a significant role in this is played by errors in the economic policy. In many sectors, practice bypassed the December policy. We have not succeeded in opposing this. We must return to a consistent implementation of the line of the sixth party congress. A return to this policy has been begun and this was reflected in the decisions of the eighth congress concerning investments, foreign trade, agriculture and personnel changes, Gierek said.

The December party line is the line adopted after the conclusion of the Baltic events in December 1970, when force was used against strikers in Gdansk. Changes occurred at the helm of the party with the quelling of these events. Gierek came to the head of the party.

At the sixth congress which followed immediately, a new party line was determined and it was popularly called in the December line. It signified a turning to the needs of society, the standard of living, and the needs of the working people.

In the past decade, since this policy has been implemented, Poland has achieved great successes. It has succeeded in modernizing its industries and creating new ones. Figures confirm such a development in the field of the personal and social standard of living of people, too. But this growth policy, as it is now officially admitted, contained some mistakes. Practice and policy did not go hand in hand. Difficulties have been accumulating. Borrowing abroad demanded a repayment of debts. The domestic market has been getting poorer. The decision to increase the price of meat was the drop that overflowed the cup.

Edward Gierek stated to the nation 2 days ago: We must agree and jointly find a way out.

This way out is in the hands of all the Poles and, as it is now stressed in public, it is a joint obligation of the Poles toward their socialist motherland and toward socialism.

CSO: 2800

'LE MONDE' SEES KANIA'S AIM AS REGAINING PARTY'S FULL DOMINANCE

LD231355 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Erosion"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the real Polish crisis began when the authorities, with their backs to the wall, satisfied the strikers' demands. From that moment, the changes made in the system were such that the champions of "real socialism," as it is called in Moscow, could not accept them. The feelings of particular leaders take second place. It does not really matter whether or not they favor real and far-reaching democratization. They are tolerated and helped by their allies for as long as they seem capable of ultimately restoring the party's complete control over the country. In this difficult period, they are permitted to maneuver and give way in order to play for time so that they can calmly win back what was lost during the trial of strength.

This seems to be Mr Kania's policy. Unlike Mr Gomulka and Mr Gierak, the new first secretary has scarcely established any contact with the population. At present, he is not trying to mobilize his fellow citizens for a great task. He is keeping quiet for fear that an imprudent intervention might revive an agitation which has been stemmed with difficulty.

The government's first task is to consolidate the social peace or rather the armistice for which it paid so dear. Government representatives keep saying that all the promises made will be kept. They are avoiding any action which would give the impression that they are breaking their word already. The first secretary is striving to be discreet toward the masses because at present that is the only way of appeasing them and he intends to take advantage of this respite to devote his attention to a fundamental objective: rebuilding the party.

In the upheaval the cornerstone teetered. Party leaders and members were shaken. The apparatus, without which there is no communist regime, is paralyzed. It must now be put back on its feet by sacrificing, of course, a number of particularly corrupt individuals. When he visited Gdansk and Katowice, Mr Kania did not meet with the strikers: he gave all his time to local party activists. He told them that there would be independent trade unions since the workers are demanding them. At the same time, he praised trade union unity which must remain the workers' ideal.

Did party cadres understand his remarks as an invitation not to show too much enthusiasm about implementing the agreements reached or even to hinder the establishment of new institutions? The independent trade union delegates meeting in Gdansk cited examples of interference and even blackmail, since wage earners have been threatened with losing the advantages they have won if they join the self-governed grade unions. After listening to these delegates' reports, Lech Walesa told the AFI special envoy that the authorities are beginning to "gradually take away" what they had given. How can this counteroffensive be tackled?

Some delegates at the Gdansk meeting wanted to set up a federation capable of confronting the government. Mr Walesa refused because he knows the ills of centralism and also because such an initiative would spark off a trial of strength. However, he knows that there are dangers in dispersal. The government could play at swallowing up the weakest or exploiting the turbulence of the most enthusiastic. An independent trade union coordinating committee has been set up to maintain cohesion. It has been decided to use the right to strike if the authorities "erode" the agreements reached.

In August the party accepted a "modus vivendi" in the hope of ending a strike. Are its objectives compatible with those of the workers? There is reason to doubt it.

CSO: 3100

'LE SOIR'S' MATHIL VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF STRIKE DEVELOPMENTS

LDO41209 Brussels LE SOIR in French 2 Sep 80 p 3

{Article by Pol Mathil: "We Have All Been Polish Strikers"}

[Excerpts] Gentlemen, long live Poland! After 2 weeks which made the world tremble, the Poles have just won a prodigious victory in the first bloodless revolt in their history. During these 2 weeks the game was played on the brink of the abyss. We were all Polish strikers and we had only one leader. An ordinary worker, but the Poles are already calling him "Walesa the First." To show what has been achieved you only have to mention that just 2 weeks ago Walesa had to climb the wall under cover of darkness to enter the Lenin Shipyard "kingdom."

A series of historic precedents has just been set in Gdansk and Szczecin. For the first time the right to strike and the right to an autonomous trade union has been recognized in a communist bloc country under workers' pressure; for the first time a government delegation headed by a member of the Politburo which theoretically wields total power in Poland negotiated on an equal footing with a group of workers deprived of any legal existence; for the first time a communist state with all possible means of oppression and distortion was forced to sign a regular agreement with a group of strikers and to sign it, as in a summit meeting, in front of national television cameras, thereby legalizing another parallel and independent source of power in a country, one of whose foundations is precisely the refusal to share power in any way.

Mr Gierek's position has been considerably weakened and his authority reduced and, sooner or later, when a new scapegoat is needed, he could be forced to step down. As a Warsaw weekly said Saturday: "Those who have not passed the test must go." A manifesto expressing similar ideas and signed by more than 100 brilliant intellectuals who are party members is now circulating in Poland.

Whatever the outcome of the 1980 "Polish summer," the strikers' success will have consequences which are difficult to assess. Poland, a communist country and member of the Eastern bloc, is entering the phase of de facto pluralism.

Before the strikes Poland was already a strange country. The Communist Party was forced to coexist with a [Catholic] Church which held real spiritual power, with private farmers who escaped centralized planning, and with intellectuals who have never really been subdued. In addition--a fact which is frequently disregarded--Poland has kept two noncommunist political parties in a state of "subservience"

purely as a facade: the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the party representing the remains of the middle classes, as well as PAX (a group set up in 1945 at Soviet instigation with the aim of undermining the Polish Catholics' unity).

This time it is a new phenomenon we are witnessing. Without running the risk of predicting how it will develop, one fact stands out: the Communist Party in Poland is forced to share its power. Of course, in addition, Poland cannot yet see the light at the end of the tunnel. This is demonstrated clearly enough by the idiotic arrest of dissidents who made the mistake of being right too soon.

Finland Plus Yugoslavia Plus Romania

The first remark which should be made is that the Communist Party, despite or perhaps because of its complete devastation, could find advantages in the new situation: The independent trade unions can inform it in time and effectively defuse conflicts with the workers before they reach such a level that they threaten to shake the government each time.

The second remark is that the USSR can also benefit from this situation. A Poland periodically shaken by people's revolts constitutes an element of insecurity and destabilization in Europe, in general, and in the Soviet zone, in particular. A wise and cautious mixture of the Finnish model (USSR security), the Yugoslav model (self-managed by socialist trade unions) and the Romanian model (diplomatic emancipation without breaking with the Warsaw Pact) would, despite the dangers of such an operation, give Poland, which is the USSR's biggest ally, a position which would offer definite advantages even from the viewpoint of the Kremlin's security. In addition, we must not rule out the hypothesis that at least some of the Kremlin incumbents might agree to regard the Polish events as a laboratory of useful ideas and solutions which might be applicable during the crises which will inevitably break out one day in the other communist countries and even in the USSR, because the system's contradictions and people's aspirations are identical or almost identical everywhere.

That brings us to the third remark.

The 1980 Polish uprising proclaims the end of the myth of the Soviet model as the ideal expression of proletarian and revolutionary will. Something else must be found. This uprising also announces the end of the myth of the usefulness and efficacy of the Soviet empire's satellite model. In this case, too, another solution must be found because the satellites no longer offer adequate guarantees.

Of course, it is not easy to abandon such far-reaching dogmas. It is particularly difficult since the USSR's current leadership is composed of people over 70 years old. They have all been in office for decades: all were "promoted" during the Stalinist purges of 1937-1938. All are very conservative, not to say reactionary, but have succeeded in providing the Soviet regime and its dogmas with extraordinary stability and duration. It is by no means surprising that they reacted to the Polish events with great reservation. However, in the very near future the USSR will come under the leadership of people less than 50 years old and even younger. We know nothing about them. However, the appearance on the political scene of "new Poles" free from the complex brought about by the trauma of war and the complex of Stalinism is significant in this respect. The fact that the Polish workers' victory coincided with the anniversary of World War II and took place in Gdansk where the first shells exploded gives symbolic value to this significance.

STANISLAW KANIA COMPARED TO KADAR, BREZHNEV

LD101515 Brussels LE SOIR in French 9 Sep 80 p 3

[Commentary by Pol Mathil: "Moscow Seems To Have Chosen a New Kadar in Poland..."]

[Text] History is repeating itself in Poland. However, contrary to the law formulated by Engels, who claimed that when history repeats itself it first takes the form of a tragedy and second the form of a comedy, it has repeated itself more than twice in Poland and it is still taking a tragic form. After the upheavals of 1956 and 1970 the Polish workers have just, for the third time, swept away the leadership of a party which, nonetheless, claimed to govern in their name and in their interests.

This is a coup de theatre but also a coup d'etat and, even if Mr Gierek has really been removed from office by a heart attack, it is, above all, a political crisis which is behind events in the Polish leadership.

Mr Gierek is not paying for his government's mistakes or for his inability to foresee the extent and nature of this peaceful movement in Gdansk. Nor has he been removed from power because he was clearly overtaken by events or because the socialist system and the Communist Party responsible for it have emerged totally discredited. On the contrary, Mr Gierek is going because he is guilty of the sin--a serious sin for a communist leader--of having been forced to give way in face of a workers' revolt without being able to claim to have obtained the assurances necessary to restore order. Mr Gierek has, therefore, failed on two counts, and the dialectics of communist power cannot forgive that.

All the indications are that it is the Kremlin which has thrown out the Gierek card. In Moscow, the name of the Polish leader, who was just recently still a "faithful friend of the USSR and an untiring revolutionary," had already vanished from the press several days ago. Mr Gierek has passed into the ranks of "unpersons."

Poland presents a virtually desperate case for the Soviet Union. For centuries it was the only country which refused to allow itself to be merged into first the czarist empire and then the Soviet empire. In 1980 the USSR is confronted with a virtually insurmountable contradiction in Poland. On the one hand the concessions which the Polish Government has made to the Gdansk strikers are completely unacceptable. Without running the risk of a gradual but inevitable dismantling of "Sovietism," a communist country which is a Warsaw Pact member,

cannot, in the long run, have a parallel power such as now exists in Poland in the form of free or self-governed trade unions, in other words trade unions which are independent of the Communist Party. On the other hand, however, for reasons which have repeatedly been explained in these columns, a Soviet military intervention was inconceivable. Poland, as people in Poland are saying, is not Czechoslovakia, and the Kremlin knows that difference well. Indeed, contrary to what commentators prone to rather hasty analogies think, the fundamental difference between Poland and Czechoslovakia does not lie in what is termed the national temperament and the will to fight but in the fact that while the Prague Spring was the work of intellectuals, here in Poland it is a question of a pure workers' movement to which intellectuals have merely given "logistical" aid.

In short, the Kremlin has had to find another solution. It has opted for the "Kadarization" of Poland. It is because of this choice that an outsider has come to power in Poland. Let us not be cruel: Let us just say that none of the best informed "Kremlinologists" gave Mr Kania a chance of coming to power or even of being in the running.

Nonetheless, from the Kremlin's viewpoint, Mr Kania has several advantages. First, he is better known in Moscow than in Warsaw. In Poland he was surrounded by the aura of secrecy characteristic of the "comrade in charge of security." In Moscow's top spheres, however, Mr Kania has quite a few friends. Indeed, it should be remembered that, of all the "integrated" spheres in the Eastern bloc, that of the armed forces and security bodies works best. Mr Kania who has the reputation of being a "moderate," although nobody really knows why, is known in Moscow as the man who crushed the Radom and Ursus rebellion in 1976 and as the main keynote speaker on the draft constitution which, in 1975, was intended to legalize Poland's virtual Sovietization.

According to reliable sources, the Kremlin sent Mr Kirilenko, Mr Brezhnev's right-hand man, to Warsaw at the height of the crisis. His job was to explain to the Polish comrades how essential it was to avoid a continuation of the crisis and any deterioration in the situation, which threatened to become completely uncontrollable and would make Soviet intervention inevitable. In other words, according to the Kremlin, Poland needed two things:

1. A salutary shock which, according to Moscow, could only be brought about by sacking the leader who, as head of the leadership team, was the man principally responsible for the defeat;
2. Poland needed a new leader capable of offering as many guarantees as possible, not only with regard to winning back the workers' movement but, above all, with regard to restoring order in the Communist Party itself.

Mr Kania is an apparatchik. He is the candidate and hope of the apparatus. In the present Polish context, Mr Kania's arrival in power is less reminiscent of Mr Gierk 10 years ago than of Mr Kadar in Hungary in 1956 and...Mr Brezhnev in the USSR in 1964. The Hungarian analogy is valid because Mr Kania's mission, like that of Mr Kadar, is to place the communist government back in control in a country where it has been completely discredited. The analogy with Mr Brezhnev

is valid, too, because Mr Kania, like Mr Brezhnev after years of Mr Khrushchev's "improvisation," is called upon to save the party apparatus from a dangerous destabilization.

Finally, it is interesting and necessary to note that Mr Gierek has been treated less well than Mr Gomulka. Indeed, while Mr Gomulka was given the chance of tendering his resignation for health reasons (now, 10 years later, he is in excellent health), Mr Gierek was curtly and abruptly "relieved" of his duties. Yet it was Mr Gomulka who opened fire on the workers, while Mr Gierek refused to give that order. The question is, therefore, whether Mr Gierek was so abruptly dismissed despite his decision not to open fire or because of it.

CSO: 3100

DUTCH PAPER VIEWS STRIKERS' 'SURPRISING VICTORIES'

LD281013 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Victory"]

[Text] The tens of thousands of strikers in Gdansk and other cities along the Polish Baltic coast have achieved two surprising victories over the weekend. On Friday evening a first meeting took place between the special government commission which is supposed to resolve the strike conflict and a delegation of the Joint Strike Committee. Warsaw had hitherto categorically refused to negotiate with the strikers' independent representatives.

On Sunday evening this was followed by the announcement of a minor palace revolution which has taken place within the ruling Politburo and the government. Prime Minister Babiuch disappears from the stage--and also as a Politburo member--and with him a number of other prominent figures retire from the field. Their successors in the Politburo and the government are regarded as representatives of the Communist Party's more liberal wing. In particular, there is the comeback of former Foreign Minister Olszowski, who at the beginning of this year was demoted to the Polish Embassy in East Berlin.

In connection with these changes party leader Gierek made a television address which unmistakably revealed greater indulgence toward the strikers' demands than was the case in his previous address. Although he again emphasized the unchallengeable nature of the socialist system and the Communist Party's leading role, no sharp distinction was drawn this time between (discussable) economic demands and (not discussable) political demands. In particular, he paved the way for recognition of the right to form free trade unions.

This is no small matter for an East European communist government. However, this does not mean that free trade unions are already a foregone conclusion, since it is certainly not the first time that the Warsaw government has hoped to dispel a grave crisis with a few spectacular changes of personnel. Such changes are then accompanied by fine promises about social improvements and a greater say on the part of the population. This is how party leader Gierek himself came to power in 1970. And it is only 6 months ago since Babiuch, who has now been toppled from his pedestal, was brought from behind the scenes as a "realist" and a "skillful organizer" to replace the unpopular Jaroszewicz. But every time the promises faded away and the problems and the political immobility remained.

It seems, therefore, highly unlikely that the strikers will allow themselves to be fobbed off with fine words again. The social and political frustrations have reached too high a pitch over the years for that. But, on the other hand, the strike movement has displayed a considerable degree of discipline and political insight. Realizing Poland's precarious position, it will certainly be prepared to make compromises, knowing also that it can be an abiding political force which the communist leaders in Warsaw--and elsewhere--must duly take into account.

CSO: 3105

DUTCH PAPER VIEWS POLISH AUTHORITIES-STRIKERS' AGREEMENT

LD091631 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 1 Sep 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Poland"]

[Text] It is always risky to declare a current event to be a "historic moment" on the spot, but the signing of the agreement between the Polish government delegation and the Central Strike Committee in Gdansk is well worth that risk. There is in any case no doubt that this agreement, like a similar one in Szczecin, has no parallel in the history of the East European "people's democracies."

The agreement's central element is the fact that the government in Warsaw and, therefore, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, recognizes the right to strike and agrees to the establishment of free, autonomous trade unions. With these two crucial principal promises, two orthodox communist dogmas have been shown the door at once. Namely, that the workers' state is entirely at the service of the workers--which, in advance, brands a strike as a maneuver of the class enemy--and that the Communist Party is the only unchallengeable representative of the working class and is thus entitled to a position of absolute power in the Socialist People's Republic.

The point is thus that the Polish Communist Party has taken a bold step backward. And the recognition won from the strikers of the leading role in the nation's life that belongs to the party--a scarcely flattering form of recognition indeed--does not detract from this. We have here a unique development which will probably not leave the other East European nations untouched.

This is definitely not to say that everything is in the can for the striking workers in Poland. When all is said and done, it has happened before that autonomous strike committees have subjected the official state authorities to great pressure and that a party leader--Gomulka in 1956--set himself up as a defender of the right to strike. But each time the party leadership has succeeded over the course of time in integrating and dismantling the dissident workers' movement and ruling the promised rights out of order. In addition, the agreements from Gdansk and Szczecin contain a number of points, for example, the abolition of censorship of trade union publications, but we will have to wait and see what the future arrangements make of them.

The difference between the present situation and what happened in the past is that there is now a written agreement, unambiguous in its main points. To this must be added the fact that the hundreds of thousands of striking workers displayed throughout the conflict a hitherto unknown determination and sense of responsibility as a result of which their political power must be deemed considerable also in the longer term.

The question is rather whether the Polish party leadership will know how to behave in a political and social system in which it no longer possesses the sole right of representation. Alas, the question will not only, nor in the first place, be answered in Warsaw. In the final days of the strike conflict it became worryingly obvious that Moscow is far from served by a generosity in the family that could undermine the whole of the communist family's life. These are, in every way, times of bated breath for Poland.

CSO: 3105

IBERIAN PRESS COMMENTS ON POLISH STRIKE SITUATION

21-24, 26 Aug 80 Papers

LD281417 [Editorial Report] Spanish and Portuguese newspapers published 21-24 and 26 August published editorials on the current situation in Poland, generally expressing support for the strikers' demands.

Madrid EL PAIS 21 August comments on page 6: "What is happening in Poland has the outward appearance of a class struggle. It is a workers' movement which is revolting against conditions of the exploitation of labor and an inadequate relationship between the hours worked and the consumption needs of those who work them." It cites as other causes of the strike movement "anti-Russian patriotism, the intellectual urge to seek forms of personal and collective freedom, the enormous influence of the Catholic Church, which has never ceased to be the regime's toughest enemy (and Wojtyla's spectacular and lengthy visit has much to do with the present situation), the growing up of generations which do not accept that the Polish communist system is the only one possible and, undoubtedly, the pressures of various kinds exerted by the capitalist world." And it adds: "The point of intersection of all these factors lies in the failure of the regime, which has been unable to create adequate living conditions or a sphere of intellectual attraction and beliefs capable of replacing the attraction of the opposing forces."

Madrid ABC 22 August notes on page 2 that although the reasons underlying the Polish workers' rebellion are no different from those motivating the communist masses in the Western democracies, "none of the communist parties on this side of the iron curtain has yet made an official statement of support for and solidarity with Polish workers who are communists, although the Polish situation has existed for weeks." It asserts: "The mask of 'Eurocommunism' has fallen from the Western communists' faces over the last few days. The USSR is in command in Poland--as it is throughout its area of influence, in the colonies of the communist multinational. Its tanks are now threatening Poland, just as they threatened and subdued Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. And the communist parties will say nothing except what the CPSU allows them or orders them to say."

Madrid YA 24 August maintains on page 5: "To believe and to fear, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that a labor and trade union dispute could degenerate into intervention by a foreign country is simply monstrous and opens

the eyes of those who do not wish to keep them very deliberately closed to the real praxis of communism wherever it is imposed."

Madrid EL PAIS 26 August comments on page 8 on the leadership changes in Poland, expressing skepticism that they will be able to resolve the situation. It states:

"Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that the injustices can be corrected. It is not a change of names or of leaders which can resolve the basic problem but rather a change in the country's structure and much greater economic sovereignty. Nor can the acknowledgment that injustices have been committed bring the workers back to 'moderation,' but rather a real change in their conditions. World circumstances have not changed so much as to suggest that what Gierek was unable to do over the last 10 years the same Gierek can do now by changing his colleagues."

Lisbon EXPRESSO 23 August asserts on page 10 that "It is important to recognize that in Poland there are thousands of workers who are struggling for basic rights, whose satisfaction could possibly even conflict with certain aspects of the autocratic political system which is in force in that country."

And it adds: "It is true that an analysis which identifies all the ills creating this protest situation with the economic situation which is in force in Poland and which is aimed at building socialism seems superficial."

"But, perhaps, it is not so superficial to point out that this situation could have a great deal to do with the political system, which like all dictatorships experiences particular difficulties in responding to and accommodating social movements like those which are now occurring."

2 Sep 80 Papers

LD080931 [Editorial Report] Spanish and Portuguese newspapers published 2 September carry editorials commenting on the outcome of the strike movement in Poland, emphasizing the caution displayed by all sides in the conflict and the historic nature of the workers' gains.

Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA, noting on page 5 the caution manifested both inside and outside Poland during the strikes, asserts: "The reason for this deliberate and conscious caution is very clear. In Gdansk, Warsaw, the Vatican, Moscow, Berlin and Washington it was realized from the very outset that if the situation ran out of all control and if the spark were struck which would render impossible a negotiated settlement of the situation, the fire could spread to the entire world. Poland is not Afghanistan nor the Czechoslovakia of 1968. The worst was to be expected. It is no exaggeration to say that the possibility of war lurked threateningly in the background."

Listing the gains achieved by the Polish strikers, it warns that "If what has been achieved is important, it must be interpreted within a whole situation which is by no means that of a total and absolute trade union freedom and whose real significance will have to be ascertained in the course of time, when all this is implemented within a regime which is undemocratic and which remains entrenched in a political conduct totally dictated from the top, in a one-party

state." However, it concludes: "This is a historic moment--a challenge in which all the communist states have something more at stake than surmounting or otherwise a temporary mishap."

Madrid ABC comments on page 2: "The trade unionists have struggled firmly and cautiously. While the exact terms of the recognition of the free trade unions and of the right to strike still remain to be known, the contents of the agreement with the government concern very specifically the quality of life of the country and, in particular, of its working masses. But its profound impact cannot be diminished; this concerns, in the long term, the political and social role of the 'new class,' which has been very harshly called into question in Poland this summer, and, in the short term, the Gierek government's economic policy, which the Polish strikers have been denouncing."

Madrid YA notes on page 5 that the agreements between the Polish strikers and the government have been greeted by "satisfaction with reservations" in the Western world: satisfaction because "the conclusion of the strike has become a historic event which could serve as a precedent for the future development of labor relations, not only in Poland but also in the other countries of the communist area," and reservations "because this is only the beginning of an internal process whose conclusion cannot be glimpsed."

It maintains: "On this occasion the workers have won the battle against Gierek's regime. In all likelihood, this does not mean that the war between the all-powerful Communist Party and the Polish proletariat is over. The Gdansk agreements represent to some extent the opening up of the 'Polish path to socialism,' which will not fail to have its repercussions on the remainder of the socialist countries. Some 12 years ago, the 'Prague Spring' faded away. Today, many people believe that Poland has begun a real political dawn, although the possibility should not be discounted that the Polish Government's concessions to the workers are nothing but a disguised political camouflage, skillfully orchestrated by a Politburo no longer capable of controlling a social and political situation which is slipping from its grasp."

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS lists on page 2 the various factors contributing to the peaceful outcome of the strikes, ranging from the Soviet Union's alleged reluctance to intervene to domestic factors such as Poland's foreign debt and the influence of the Catholic Church. It concludes: "And it was these numerous contradictions which promoted the victory of the Gdansk strikers. What is the future of that victory? It is difficult to forecast it. But certainly nobody will be bold enough to seek to confine it within the narrow limits of the outcome of a strike normal in capitalist countries but absolutely unprecedented in the East bloc regimes. Because, whatever the interpretations made, this outcome touches, as somebody has already stressed, 'the weak spot of the communist system.'"

CSO: 3110

BRIEFS

GDANSK PZPR COMMITTEE SESSION--The Polish news agency PAP reports that a meeting of the PZPR committee of the Gdansk Voivodship has been held in Gdansk. The situation caused by the workers' strikes in the city was discussed. The meeting was attended by representatives of the PZPR Central Committee and Politburo: Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of Poland; Stanislaw Kania, secretary of the Central Committee; and Tadeusz Pyka, deputy premier. It was noted that the continuation of the strikes in Gdansk is assuming a content incompatible with the original intentions of the workers and is turning into an action directed against the basic principles of political social life in Poland. Such a situation, it was said, has been caused by the activities of anti-socialist elements who are not from Gdansk and who wish to create chaos and disorder. Firm steps are needed against such elements, it was pointed out at the meeting of the PZPR committee of Gdansk Voivodship. [Text] [AU191508 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 80]

'CRUCIAL MOMENT' IN CRISIS SEEN--Observers and those who know the conditions in Poland are making the appraisal that a crucial moment has arrived in the crisis which is shaking the country. The Interfactory Strike Committee is continuing its session in Gdansk. Mieczyslaw Jagielski, first deputy premier, will brief it in greater detail on the decision of the Central Committee concerning government changes. Jagielski has been in Gdansk since this morning. [Excerpt] [LD251456 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Aug 80]

CSO: 2800

ROMANIA

ROLE OF WORKERS' LETTERS IN AFFIRMING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 80 pp 14-17

[Article by Andrei Cervencovici, chief of the Section for Letters and Audiences of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and vice president of the Central Collegium of the Party: "Workers' Letters - An Important Means of Strengthening Ties With the Workers and Affirming Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The development and furthering of socialist democracy constitutes one of the fundamental objectives of the Party Program, standing as an objective necessity of the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism. "We must at no time forget," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the speech he recently gave during a working visit to Galati County, "that socialist democracy and the participation of the people in the conscious building of its own future constitute the key to the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

The experience of building a new order, as well as the work of the secretary general of the party, show the historic objective bases of socialist democracy and the fact that one of the characteristic traits of Romanian political thought and practice, especially during the years following the Ninth Party Congress, is the organic unity between socialism and democracy, and that in our society they have a permanent and indissoluble relationship. In the spirit of the decisions approved by the Ninth Congress and the others that followed, the Romanian Communist Party initiated and adopted a broad range of political measures and organizational forms, legal regulations and educational guidelines that would ensure the full expression of socialist democracy and the participation of the working class and all workers in the management of society, the elaboration of decisions and their implementation.

In our party's view and that of its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the development of democracy is not a purpose in itself. As a form of organizations and political leadership of society, it is designed to ensure the broadest rights and freedoms for the masses and to put to full

use their wisdom and experience and their creative energies and abilities. Under such conditions, the Romanian Communist Party places special importance on the role of improving the means of strengthening its ties with the masses and is fully receptive to the reports, criticisms and proposals from the workers that are formulated in meetings, conferences and discussions or that are sent in letters to party and state organs, public organizations and the press.

In affirming its ever stronger role as the leading political force through its organic integration in society, our party is establishing close and permanent relations with the workers and is constantly developing its ties with the entire populace.

The amplification of direct contacts with the workers and with all the citizens of the country is a permanent trait of the thinking and style of work of our party's secretary general. Countless times, within the framework of dialogues with workers and expressing a desire of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that only through a close relationship with the masses and through permanent consultations with them, keeping in mind the concerns and proposals of the workers, can optimum solutions be found in all areas and can their problems at work and in life be more effectively, justly and efficiently resolved.

In urging the party active and the cadre having responsibilities to be constantly among the people, our party leadership also emphasized the need to give the greatest attention to the justified demands of the citizens, to express a fully understanding attitude towards their reports and proposals and to always have an open door for those who come forward with good intentions to present diverse suggestions, opinions and criticisms. Within this context, the handling of letters and the proper organization of audiences at the different levels and fora of leadership represent efficient means for systematically consulting with the masses and for using their experience and wisdom.

Letters and audiences achieve an immense movement of ideas, oral and written, and are a phenomenon of broad scope specific to our socialist society that reflects the complete harmony between the hopes of the people and the objectives of the policies of the Romanian Communist Party. Just last year, for example, over 1.7 million citizens wrote letters to and had audiences with the party leadership, party and state organs, central and local mass and public organizations, the press and radio-television. Through their letters, people of all ages and all social categories from across the country are expressing their support for the domestic and foreign policies of the Romanian Communist Party and our country and are thanking the secretary general of the party for his shining contribution

to everything we are doing, and eagerly forward proposals and reports in order to contribute to the improvement of activities in all the areas of social life.

Our party's permanent concern for ensuring the active participation of the workers in resolving public affairs, an essential trait of socialist democracy, and for creating the conditions so that all citizens can freely express their opinions and work unhindered in the use of society's progress brought about an ever more active and responsible opinion from them and a permanent dialogue with the party and state leadership, with local party organs and with state institutions and mass and public organizations.

This great dialogue through letters and audiences, a direct form of expressing the citizens' opinions, became under the conditions of our socialist democracy an objective necessity. On one hand, the leadership element of our society, the party, which does not work for itself, but for lifting society to ever higher levels of civilization and for the good of the people, needs the people's ideas to draw up its strategy and their effective participation in bringing about the proposed objectives. On the other hand, the people, whose hopes are achieved by carrying out the party's policies and who are ever more aware of this, have an interest in effectively and responsibly participating in the fulfilment of their own hopes.

The workers' letters offer the decisionmakers an especially efficient and opportune possibility to understand life, reality, contradictory aspects in economic-social activities and the causes that generate them, in order to act so that they can preserve their role as a dynamic factor in social progress. The people, to the extent of the growth of their awareness and understanding of the fact that their own interests are satisfied within the context of achieving the general interests of society, become the sensitive detectors of contradictions in society. They feel the achievements in our society, as well as the social inequalities and deficiencies of certain decisions, pointing them out. This is a natural phenomenon since they live and work in all the social fields and best know reality directly.

The opportunity for the country's citizens to write or speak out on any problem to the highest level of party and state organs, mass and public organizations, the press and so forth, is a right set forth by the Constitution, stemming from the workers' position as owners of the means of production, producers and users of the material goods and national wealth.

Showing a high awareness, the citizens of the country are expressing their opinions through letters and audiences, are making numerous proposals and are taking a critical, combative attitude towards shortcomings, making their contribution to the improvement of economic-social activities.

The measures taken in recent years to improve activities for handling proposals, reports, complaints and requests from workers, an activity which constitutes a component of party work having a profoundly political nature, are part of the overall group of actions undertaken, especially since the Ninth Congress, to develop and further socialist democracy and to improve the organizational framework and raise the content of the institutionalized forms of mass participation to a new, superior quality in the elaboration and implementation of our party's and state's policies.

An important moment in this direction was approval by the March 1978 Party Central Committee Plenum of the Decision regarding activities involving letters and audiences and the passage of Law No 1/1978 by the Great National Assembly. These documents, as well as other party and state decisions adopted later, are the basis of all activities for resolving workers' letters and the problems related to receiving the workers in audiences. The measures established at the plenum are designed to ensure the growth of responsibility of party and state organs in the organization, management and guidance of activities involving letters and audiences, and to bring about the intensification of concern on the part of decisionmakers in all fields of activity to understand the causes that generate a series of shortcomings and establish the most appropriate measures to eliminate them and prevent other negative phenomena.

Pursuing improvements in the content of activities involving letters and audiences, and growth in the efficiency of these activities for improving work in all economic-social fields, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party established an harmonious system for analysis and reporting from the highest level down to the base organizations. The activities for resolving the problems raised in audiences and letters directed to the party leadership are analyzed quarterly by the Secretariat of the Central Committee and biannually by the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. Each year the Central Committee discusses the manner in which the party organs and organizations and the state and public organs work to resolve proposals, reports, complains and requests from workers, and analyzes the conclusions stemming from them. As is known, each time it has established measures to improve activities in this field.

The March 1978 Central Committee Plenum established special tasks regarding activities involving letters and audiences for party collegiums, as collective organs that can and must make an important contribution to improving work in this field. In this regard, the Central Collegium of the Party is responsible for resolving proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers addressed to the party leadership and, at the same time, ensures the systematic review of the manner in which party and state organs and organizations, mass and public organizations, and the leaderships of socialist units apply party and state decisions in this field. The county party collegiums and the Bucharest Municipal Party Collegium have the same responsibilities at the local level.

Naturally, each party activist must carry out a similar activity, especially complex review collectives. We stress this fact even more so since in some counties there is a tendency to leave the review of activities involving letters and audiences to the party collegiums.

The law adopted in March 1978 regarding activities for the solution of proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers provides the legal framework appropriate to the implementation of the tasks outlined by the party in this regard. It establishes the norms designed to lead to the strengthening of the responsibility of the leadership of state organs in respecting the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens. It calls for the direct responsibility of the ministries, the leadership of the enterprises, institutes and public organizations for the specific management of these activities and for the objectivity of the investigations carried out, the justness of the conclusions, the legality of the measures established and the effectiveness and precision of the responses given to the citizens. Similarly, the law stipulates the obligation of the collective leadership organs of the institutes and other socialist units to periodically analyze activities in this field and to report the conclusions and measures taken to their hierarchically superior organs.

Of special significance has been the decision of the party leadership that the entire activity of examining and resolving proposals, reports and requests from the workers will be carried out under the direct leadership of party organs and organizations. In themselves providing an exemplary effort in this sense, they directed with increased efficiency the activities of all organs that have responsibilities in the area of resolving letters and the proposals raised in audiences. The county, municipal, city and town party committees and those in enterprises and institutes are providing better guidance and exercising a permanent review. There has been a considerable increase in the responsibility with which the people's councils, the workers councils, mass and public organizations, the press and radio-television have taken care of letters and audiences.

It is worth noting that the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, weekly and whenever it is necessary keeps abreast of the content of the letters addressed to him and the statements made by citizens during audiences. Numerous letters of a special nature are resolved on-the-spot at the express direction of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, by collectives made up of party and state activists and specialists, coordinated directly by Central Committee secretaries or deputy prime ministers of the government. On the basis of conclusions stemming from investigations, important measures were taken to improve work in different fields of activity.

The Central Collegium of the Party, the Section for Letters and Audiences, in addition to resolving a large number of reports with the Central Council of Worker Review of Economic and Social Activities and the other sections

of the Central Committee, carried out systematic reviews in the counties, in the ministries and in other central institutes, working for the improvement in the content of work involving letters and audiences. In some county party committees and ministries, the review was undertaken with the assistance of certain collectives of party activists, mass and public organizations, specialists from ministries and other central institutes. The Central Collegium of the Party, on the basis of directives issued by the secret. general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, annually organized conferences with the representatives of the leaderships of the ministries and the other central institutes, the central organs of the press, and with the presidents of the county party collegiums and those persons responsible for the compartments dealing with letters and audiences. On these occasions, there has been a useful exchange of experiences regarding the manner in which party and state decisions were applied referring to activities involving letters and audiences.

The central and local press organs, radio and television used letters and audiences to a greater degree to stimulate the creative initiative of the workers in achieving production goals, protecting public property and respecting laws and norms of socialist ethics and equality. The systematic publication in the central press of the conclusions resulting from investigations into letters addressed to the party leadership stimulated the participation of the citizens via this format in the solution of certain public problems, bringing about an increase in the responsibility of party and state organs for examining deeply and resolving competently the proposals and reports from the workers.

Through the letters addressed to the party leadership, the party and state organs and the mass and public organizations, the workers made a significant contribution to the better organization of work and production in the industrial units, the reduction of production costs, the improvement of the machinery and equipment use indices and the quality of certain consumer goods, and the achievement of savings in raw materials and energy. Their input, through the reports that they made, brought about the elimination of certain deficiencies at some work sites, led to the understanding and elimination of certain shortcomings in the trade with and supplies to the people, and led to a better organization of the seeding and harvesting campaigns in agriculture, the judicious use of the land and the improvement of activities in the area of zootechny. The proposals and critical observations of substance permitted the administration and beautification of cities and towns, the improvement of systematization plans for certain localities, the achievement of certain more efficient actions for integrating education with production and research, the improvement of health care and the content of certain normative acts, and the elimination of certain shortcomings and expressions of bureaucratism and certain abuses and illegalities.

In addition to the variety and diversity of the problems contained in the workers' letters, what further characterizes them is the good understanding of social realities and the facts to which they refer. In this sense, it is significant that the majority of reports addressed to the Central Committee and the county, municipal and city party committees last year were well-founded.

Working in the spirit of party and state decisions, the party, state and public organs and organizations put together an effective system through which the workers' proposals, critical observations and requests find the quickest possible solution, which increases the masses' faith in the party and leads them to present to the party new proposals which come to have a greater and greater importance in improving activities in all the areas of economic and social life.

The growth of responsibility of the organs and authorities with attributes in the solution of citizens' letters has brought about a substantial improvement in the activities in this field. There has been an expansion of means such as the systematic consultation of different social categories and collectives of workers in connection with the possibility of eliminating certain shortcomings reported in letters, the organization of on-the-scene audiences in enterprises and localities and the permanent pursuit of solutions to requests and the carrying out of proposals. For reports having important contents, collectives are organized that carry out investigations on-the-scene, and the conclusions from these investigations are discussed as frequently as possible in work collectives, worker meetings and party organizations.

These forms of activities have proven to be fruitful and we feel that they must be used on a broader scale. The presentation of the resulting conclusions to the worker collectives in the units in question has contributed to a growth in their responsibility for the proper operation of the activities they carry out and for combativeness against violations of socialist legalities and norms of social behavior, and has brought about a more direct participation of the collectives in these units in the application of the established measures.

All this brings to light a more careful attention on the part of the party, state, mass and public organs for the best use in their activities of the conclusions stemming from letters and audiences and the critical observations of the citizens. As a result, the vast majority of the problems raised by citizens receive a competent, appropriate solution. At the same time, concern has increased for the effective solution of letters. For example, in 1979 Covasna County resolved on-time all the letters received, Vrancea County 99.6 percent, Caras-Severin 99.52 percent, Botosani 98.05 percent, and so forth.

Especially pleasing is the fact that the party and state decisions for organizing the reception of citizens in audiences created a broad access for workers to leadership cadre at all levels. In 1979, county party committee first secretaries and secretaries received over 95,000 citizens in audience, six percent more compared to the previous year, while in 1978,

after the adoption of the decision regarding activities involving letters and audiences, it was approximately 60 percent more than in 1977. Similarly, in 1978 the ministries received 24 percent more citizens in audience than in 1977, continuing to register an increase in the number of those persons who came directly to the leadership cadre of party organs and local and central institutes with diverse problems of general or personal interest.

Despite all the good results obtained to date in the activities for resolving complaints, reports, proposals and requests from the workers, there are still a number of shortcomings. Although the largest part of the reports received by the party and state organs have been proven well-founded, reflecting the political maturity and responsible spirit of their authors, not all of them were resolved in an appropriate manner. Formalism still shows up in clarifying the problems raised by the workers and the solutions that are given are not always in accord with the facts. We find cases where the letters are resolved in a bureaucratic fashion, giving standard answers without keeping in mind that each request has its own specific nature and that the problems raised frequently affect broader areas of activity and the interests of a large number of people. And, experience has demonstrated that the thorough analysis of the citizens' reports and proposals can lead to especially useful conclusions for the entire operation of activities in one sector or another.

At the Central Committee, numerous letters are received, as well as many citizens in audiences. This fact reflects the great faith of the people in our party and its leadership. On the other hand, however, this situation shows that many of the problems are not being appropriately resolved at the level of local party and state organs. The excessive shifting of problems to the central organs that can and should be resolved at the local level in the respective units and localities cannot but lead to delays in resolving the workers' requests. This is also the source of the need for local organs to work more firmly to respect party and state decisions and their own measures regarding the solution of letters and problems raised by citizens in audiences.

Some local party and state organs and the leaderships of certain mass and public organizations did not fully understand that the essential factor in this activity is the principled and complete solution of the problems reported and the establishment and firm application of certain measures that no longer can give rise to disorder and violations of legalities. The analysis of activities involving letters and audiences is done formally in some places and in this manner there cannot be a deep understanding of the causes that generate certain negative phenomena, and there cannot be efficient work to eliminate the shortcomings of the citizens' justified dissatisfaction. In many enterprises and institutes, the workers commissions alongside the party organizations committees and bureaus are carrying out

a poor activity, although they could effectively help the party organs alongside which they were established in organizing, coordinating and managing the entire activity of resolving letters and the problems raised in the audiences in these units. It is necessary that the municipal and city party organs initiate exchanges of experience, periodic instruction sessions with those persons who have responsibilities in this area, and other actions designed to lead to the activation of these commissions. Similarly, it has been found that the mayors of certain towns do not for long periods of time go into the villages that belong to their area, although according to the laws they have the duty to make weekly trips there to have discussions with the citizens in these localities.

As experience shows, the local organs and the leaderships of the economic units and institutes are not using workers' letters to a sufficient degree as an instrument for understanding reality. This is also due to the fact that they do not always draw conclusions from the letters and the problems raised at audiences, with them being treated as single cases, and that the investigations into the suggestions and complaints of the citizens is not carried out to the end and to the disclosure of the causes that generated them. Some leadership cadre in the counties, but especially in the ministries and other central institutes, are still not participating enough in on-the-scene solutions of certain reports of important substance.

Phenomena and aspects from all the fields of social life are covered in the workers' letters. Many of these refer to certain shortcomings in industrial and agricultural units, state and cooperatist trade and in the activities of the people's councils and town administration. A large percentage of the letters deal with problems in construction, home repairs, in the operation of public transportation in large cities, labor laws, with abuses that are still being committed and with violations of the norms of social behavior. All these offer countless opportunities to understand and eliminate shortcomings and to have a more efficient activity, fully aware of the causes, better using the creative abilities of the masses.

As in any field of party work, the resolution of proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the people presupposes an activity carried out with a developed politic sense, with a maximum amount of responsibility, and in the spirit of humanism and the socialist ethics and equality of our socialist society. The need is felt in the work involving letters and audiences to work with more understanding regarding the justified requests of the citizens, to present responses more convincingly, to discuss them more with the citizens and to patiently explain to them why it cannot be resolved at given moment. It is necessary to have a more sustained effort in explaining to those people who raise questions in contradiction to our laws or whose requests cannot be now solved for objective reasons. Such a method contributes to educating the citizens and, at the same time, to reducing unfounded requests addressed to higher organs.

An important number of anonymous letters are received at the central party and state organs, in the counties, at the leadership of economic-social units, in the press and at radio-television stations. These are more difficult to examine and require a greater amount of work, but many of them prove to be well-founded. This fact demonstrates that there is not a favorable climate for free expression everywhere and that those people who report certain shortcomings with good intentions are sometimes called to task and persecuted. That is why it is necessary to show greater concern in this direction and to take firm measures to punish those guilty of such practices, which are contrary to party norms and the laws of the country.

For the continued improvement of activities in the field of resolving proposals, reports, complaints and requests from workers, it is necessary for the party and state organs and organizations to pay substantially increased attention to the analysis of the substance of letters and the problems raised in audiences, to uncovering the frequency of phenomena and the local and more general causes that are at the bottom of each phenomenon or group of negative phenomena, and to the conclusions and measures that are required to improve the activities in these fields.

The bureaus of the county party committees and the leaderships of the ministries must intervene more energetically to eliminate the shortcomings uncovered and to closely pursue affairs so that the center of gravity of the activities of examining and resolving workers' letters will be everywhere moved to where the workers work, and carried out through the direct investigation of all reports on-the-scene.

One of the principal directions in which actions must be taken with great exigency than up to now is broadening the concern for popularizing the measures and provisions contained in party decisions and the laws of the country, so that each worker will thoroughly understand his rights and obligations and the legal opportunities that he has for openly expressing his opinions in any field of activity. At the same time, the knowledge and mastery of these documents and the major themes that are presented in them for the party and state cadre and leaders in the units represent a decisive condition in the exercise and fulfillment of their attributes and duties with a maximum of competence in effectively and efficiently resolving the proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers. It is necessary to move to the broader use of the "Forum of Democracy," within the framework of which it is fully possible, each time, to explain the different economic-social phenomena and new laws and decisions and to indicate the specific means of solving certain deficiencies and difficulties that are the object of the citizens' reports and complaints.

The letters addressed to the party leadership, the party and state organs, the press and mass and public organizations constitute a form of active

and direct participation of all citizens in the management and resolution of state, economic and public affairs, an eloquent expression of the continuing development of our socialist democracy. The workers' letters and their opinions reflect the ever more intensive activities expended for the purpose of building a new order and constitute a living reflection of their full support of the cause of the party and the people and of our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy and the decision of all our people to do everything to implement the Party's Program and the decisions adopted by the 12th Congress.

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ROMANIA

REPORT ON BUCHAREST WORLD FORUM OF HISTORIANS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 80 pp 22-24, 47

[Article by Damian Hurezeanu: "The 15th Forum of World Historians"]

[Text] The tradition of international history congresses, begun eight decades ago in Paris, added a new page to its history in Bucharest between 10 and 17 August 1980. Through the presence of over 2,700 specialists from 67 countries at the congress, the content of their themes, the scientific level of the reports and studies presented, and the active and lively character of the discussions, the International History Congress at Bucharest was a significant event in current scientific affairs. For the first time at an international history congress, certain delegates from the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, some Arab nations, the African continent and Latin America were notably present. This strengthened the universal character of the meeting.

Entrusting the organization of a congress of such dimensions to the historians in our country is, certainly, an honor and a great responsibility. We see in this task a sign of the value in Romanian historical science and in its growing affirmation on the international scene. Beyond this, we see trust in Romania's ability to respond to all the organizational problems involved in such a meeting and, above all that, trust in the proper and festive atmosphere that our country can offer for the success of the congress. And, it must be said that those who organized the congress worked with understanding and perseverance, achieving certain working conditions which many delegates, including the most informed persons of the broad international forum of historians, considered to be optimum. The publication of an ad hoc paper during the congress and the broad coverage of the proceedings in the press and on radio and television connected the concerns of the scientists to the changes in reality and created the additional opportunities for the "communication" and "contact" of history with life.

A fundamental fact that confirmed the Bucharest Congress and depicted it with special force was the stimulating aspect exercised by the political, ideological and intellectual atmosphere in our country upon the proceedings of the world history forum. Many foreign participants spoke of "the spirit

of Bucharest" at the congress's proceedings as being a fine example of using the potential elements of a scientific and intellectual nature that are incorporated in such a scientific affair.

This spirit was revealed in the highest degree in the Message presented by president Nicolae Ceausescu to the participants of the 15th International Congress of Historical Science. The message from our country's president placed the congress under the aegis of certain fundamental ideas that see both the contemporary era and history as sciences and the duties of the historian as a scientist and as a participant in contemporary affairs.

Showing the trends of the current evolution of the international situation, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that precisely its complexity and the fact that "contemporary evolution is marked by a series of serious and profound problems" require the historians to dig into their profession and the science they serve in order to make history an instrument for closeness and cooperation between peoples, human solidarity and respect for the values created by people throughout the centuries. In fact, to what other more noble and uplifting mission can an historian aspire than to remain loyal to the authentic vocation of history, which cannot be but humanistic, of a broad understanding of people and their ideals? In this way and along these lines, it also serves the imperatives of its time! The past and the present are thus found closely articulated from the point of view of the meaning which the historian seeks in them. More profoundly and encompassingly understanding the demands of our era, the historians makes easier the task of unravelling the authentic messages that come from the depths of history, after which, acting as the most honest spokesman for these messages, he has the satisfaction of fulfilling the duties of today through the humanist values of human understanding and solidarity which are prescribed to him.

Perhaps more than the other congresses since the Second World War, in Paris (1950), Rome (1955), Stockholm (1960), Vienna (1965), Moscow (1970) and San Francisco (1975), the historians' concern, marked by care and responsibility, for the destiny of today's world and their increased sensitivity to their responsibilities. Moreover, the scientific theme of the congress also had an orientation that favored an opening of the present and some of the important phenomena of the contemporary era.

Before examining some of the aspects of the content of these themes, I feel it is necessary to make some mention of the structure itself of the proceedings of the congress.

What comes to mind first is the breadth of the themes and their complexity. According to the concept that was established at the previous congresses, the major discussions at Bucharest were held on the basis of certain reports, co-reports or studies separated into a number of divisions. In the section

carefully and thoroughly substantiated. As a simple suggestion, I feel that a certain restriction of the number of themes would work very well, without those present at the meeting feeling it would be impossible to take part. Effectively, if well selected themes could be found dealing with the history of a number of peoples and the common elements of the histories of domains and the progress of a number of countries.

The vast majority of the reports and coreports were presented at a high professional level. Some were true models in their field through the precision of their analysis and wealth of information and through their ability to present an overview and details at the same time. At the basis of certain reports were years of study in an effort to uncover and present the multiple significances of certain phenomena of a vast nature. A patient accumulation of handicraft work is represented here and put forth to codify information, facts and thoughts in a completely coherent manner. Basically, this is a marvelous effort to preserve the memories of mankind and to remind man of the course of time. Even if they deal with widespread aspects, the documents of the Bucharest Congress are a book on humanity, suggesting something in the unified life of mankind and "its adventures," as the Italians say.

Without a doubt, historians and other researchers will for a long time refer to the documents from the Bucharest Congress when they study the themes connected with the important reports or many of the reports presented in the chronological sections and commissions.

Professors Juliusz Bardach and Hubert Izdebski (from Poland) conceived their report, for example, regarding federal and pluralist states on a vast scale, combining the analysis of historical aspects with institutional legal ones. In his report about the problems of peace in the early Middle Ages, Raoul Manselli (from Italy) gives a true x-ray of political relations in Europe during that era. Claude Fohlen (from France) seeks to deal with results and directions of research on the theme of "The Woman in Society." Domenico Demareo's (from Italy) report, "Development and Underdevelopment in the 20th Century," was distinguished by its clarity and spirit of synthesis. A broad and encompassing text about the language of the historian was completed by Karl Georg Faber (from West Germany) (unfortunately, only a brief summary appears in the congress's documents because his text arrived late). M. W. Flinn (from Great Britain) completed a laborious study regarding the birth and mortality phenomena, particularly in the modern era.

For their part, Romanian researchers made a notable contribution, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to a series of reports and coreports presented at the congress. They were entrusted with a report within the framework of the major themes, three reports in the chronological section, two reports in the commissions affiliated with the congress, three coreport

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In the study, 'The Balkans and Their Balkanization,' Dadyan refers to an earlier and important study of this problem, Alexander Zverev and Vladimir Gerasimov's 1970s paper, 'The Balkans as the cradle of the European phenomenon in Central and East Europe,' from which they proceed in the typology of this phenomenon and, bringing attention to the work of Dr. Inezel, the traditional approach to Balkanism which they acknowledge as inadequate. The study of ideas, included in the study phenomenon is a political, economic, economic, and diverse concepts that are equally rightly seen as the primary as well as their sources of Balkanization, such as Marxism and the revolution, in their context, presented in several periods of agrarian reforms in Europe after the First World War, as Indian economy, culture in their study.

The discussions at the Congress were active and lively and carried out in the vast majority of cases in a scientific, sober and objective spirit. There was an atmosphere of intellectual freedom appropriate to a fruitful exchange of opinions. Perhaps more than any other time, there was an opening for dialogues and an increased understanding for "the rules of dialogue." Certainly, different views and opinions were encountered and different points of view were expressed. In the vast majority of cases, however, they did not abandon the idea of being faithful to historical truth and they did not violate the spirit of objectivity.

the proceedings of the congress showed that the Marxist research method shows its superiority, with the condition that the research be carried out correctly, using the necessary wealth of information and the specific professional skill. Otherwise, using the term Marxist does not save the text that is dull, subjective or ambiguous.

As can be understood in the case of a meeting of such dimensions, several unpleasantness could not be avoided which clashed with the general orientation of the proceedings. These appeared when a few of the participants left the subject of history itself, moving into the area of certain problems of a extremely political nature. In this case, history served merely as a mere distant support for questions of a political nature.

The Romanian historians tried to give a broader view of our historiography and their activities, primarily through the production of specialized books that they brought to the congress. And, it must be said that this production truly impressed a great many foreign participants through the variety of the themes and concerns, through the graphic excellent content of many of these works and through the efforts to translate a series of representative books into the more common international languages. Without any doubt, the production of Romanian historical books reached a peak at the congress, responding to the constantly increasing and always lively interest of the readers in our country for history subjects. In this accomplishment of success, we cannot stress enough the contribution and efforts of the publishing houses, especially the Publishing House of the Academy and the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, which carried out a true feat of strength in order to complete publishing projects and plans, both of an individual and collective nature. We are speaking here not of fulfilling a simple task at work, but of great self-sacrifice, enthusiasm and self-denial, from the leadership of the publishing institutes to the careful printing of each letter.

A most favorable impression was made by the historical book exposition (both Romanian and international), organized during the congress. Functionally and at the same time, elegantly and properly conceived, the exposition in Bucharest, in the words of the secretary of the International Committee of History (up to the congress), Michel Francoix, was organized in a model for the exposition of specialized books at such a meeting.

The Romanian delegation of historians or specialists in some of the related fields was an active partner in the discussions. Many of our representative specialists worked harder so that the values of our history can be better and more widely known and so that the experience of our people's past can be seen in its major significant aspects.

The foreign specialists were able to note the open position of our historiography, its ability for dialogue, its sensitivity to nuances and the repudiation of preconceived ideas. Our historiography was guided by the idea of truth and objectivity in science, understanding, however, that these concepts are not the result of a priori inspirations, but are the result of a long process of understanding. Our historiography was determined and sought not to leave anything unclear when in the discussions there were allusions, frequently in extremely sophisticated forms, and imprecise or

erroneous statements regarding, let us say, the problem of Daco-Roman continuity, the cultural and humanist Romanian values during the feudal era, the ideal of freedom within the framework of the Romanian's struggle in Transylvania in 1848, the historical justice of the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) and so forth.

The congress fully showed that our historiography has well prepared messengers, with a broad cultural horizon and a specialized nature capable of maintaining a lively dialogue with its foreign partners and of achieving that necessary number of "contacts of ideas." Certainly, this was the characteristic and defining tenor. That there were also certain shortcomings in this area is a fact that cannot escape careful and clear review. Basically, a dull, declarative report, fortunately there were few of these, is of service to no one, and first of all to the person who presents it. Mastery of the common international language is a *sine qua non* condition for communication. We feel that the problem of the mastery of common international foreign languages must receive more attention in the process of quality training and growth of the corp of specialists in the field of history. The question is primarily one of a personal nature, but perhaps in the educational system at the doctorate level there could be a reconsideration of some of the aspects aimed at increasing the requirements in a given area. We are not talking merely about the opportunity for conversation, as such, in a common international language, but, in a broader sense, about historical culture itself and the specialist's general horizon of knowledge.

As numerous prestigious scientists noted, the Bucharest Congress reflected the trend of current historiography to directed itself more towards the masses and to take into consideration the great communities and their problems. During the proceedings of the congress, relatively new themes were included that were untreated by or peripheral to traditional historiography. It is sufficient to mention the theme regarding "Woman in Society" or those themes that were part of the program and were unusual for the historiographer, such as "Work and Administration in the Management of Industry in the 20th Century," "Domestic Policy and The Economy" and so forth.

From the point of view of introducing new problems in the historiographic discussions, the Bucharest Congress can rightly claim special merit. Less spectacular to us were the incursions of a methodological nature into current historiography. It appears that after the effervescence of the previous decades we are working in a calmer period in this regard, a period of decantation and evaluation of results after which new impulses and new creative searches will probably appear.

Right now it is clearly premature to formulate definitive conclusions about the place and role of the congress in the evolution of historiography in

our time. Only the further study of its works on the basis of the previous evolution of historiography and its current characteristic trends will permit broader conclusions. If it is difficult to appreciate the degree in which the proceedings of the congress actually guide the development of world historiography, influence it or define it (my opinion is that it does so only partially), it is also incontestable that they reflect its situation, the status of certain concerns and the level reached by research in certain fields. This is also the role of congresses and it would be presumptuous to expect or to insist on more from them. Basically, they are not organs for producing guidance, but meetings for scientific discussions, for affirming itself (the community of historians) and presenting itself to society for the cause of the field that the participants are cultivating.

What the congress clearly showed is the idea that the growth of the prestige of the science of history and its ability to provide social guidance are tied to the scientific statute of historiography and the qualitative level of its theoretical discoveries. As a celebrated historian observed in a remarkable statement, it is a sign of spiritual triumph that man, freed from the impediments that slowed his creative elan, can build not only the present and play a willful role in the future, but penetrate more exactly and thoroughly the space and time of the past.

The congress was an opportunity for meetings or reunions between historians from all over, for scientific contacts and exchanges of ideas, and for becoming aware of certain methods and types of recent research. The type of historiographic approach and the manner in which the historian approaches his theme and examines it especially presented a separate interest for professional colleagues.

For our historiography, the Bucharest Congress meant a great scientific experience whose significance still remains to be analyzed. It facilitated the spread of our historiography in world circles, it familiarized many foreign historians with some aspects of our people's past and broadened the circle of friends of our people among the foreign scientists.

At the conclusion of the congress, the newly elected president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for the next 5 years, the Polish professor Alexander Gleysztor, speaking in the name of the Bureau of the International Committee and substantially new in its organization, expressed his hope for a fertile and prosperous period of peace and peaceful work for historians until the next congress in 1985, which will take place in West Germany. In offices or at archeological digs, in classrooms or at new domestic or international meetings, historians will accumulate new knowledge about the course of humanity and will improve their professional skills and research methods in order to tie together the string of international congresses into a continuity of efforts and hopes that desire to be a part, no matter how small, of the great continuity of humanity.

BRIEFS

MACEDONIAN MOSLEM MEETING--Struga, 28 Sep--The Third Cultural-Scientific Meeting of Macedonian Moslems took place today in the Poetry Club in Struga. In addition to the delegates from many settlements where Macedonian Moslems live, Strakhil Gigov, Tom Drakulevsi, representatives of social and political organizations and of the assemblies of opstinas, scientific and cultural workers and others also took part in the meeting. The participants at the meeting were addressed by the president of the executive council of the assembly of Struga Opstina, Kire Srbinovski, who stated, among other things, that the Macedonian Moslems, because of the fact of their Islamization, had for a long time felt like a piece torn off from the Macedonian people, as a result preserving their own purest fluency of the Macedonian language and the peculiar characteristics of the Macedonian people. Srbinovski also informed them of the efforts being invested in Struga Opstina to raise the standard of living of the population of the opstina where about 12,000 Macedonian Moslems live. Nijazi Limanov, Gorge Milkovik, Blagoja Korubin and others also spoke at the meeting. They stated that the Macedonian Moslems are an indivisible part of the whole of the Macedonian people and nation, pointed to historical events and to the conditions which led to the Islamization of the Macedonian population. They also spoke of the relationship between nationality and language. Afterwards, Macedonian Moslem folk groups from a number of villages performed at the meeting. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Sep 80 p 1]

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